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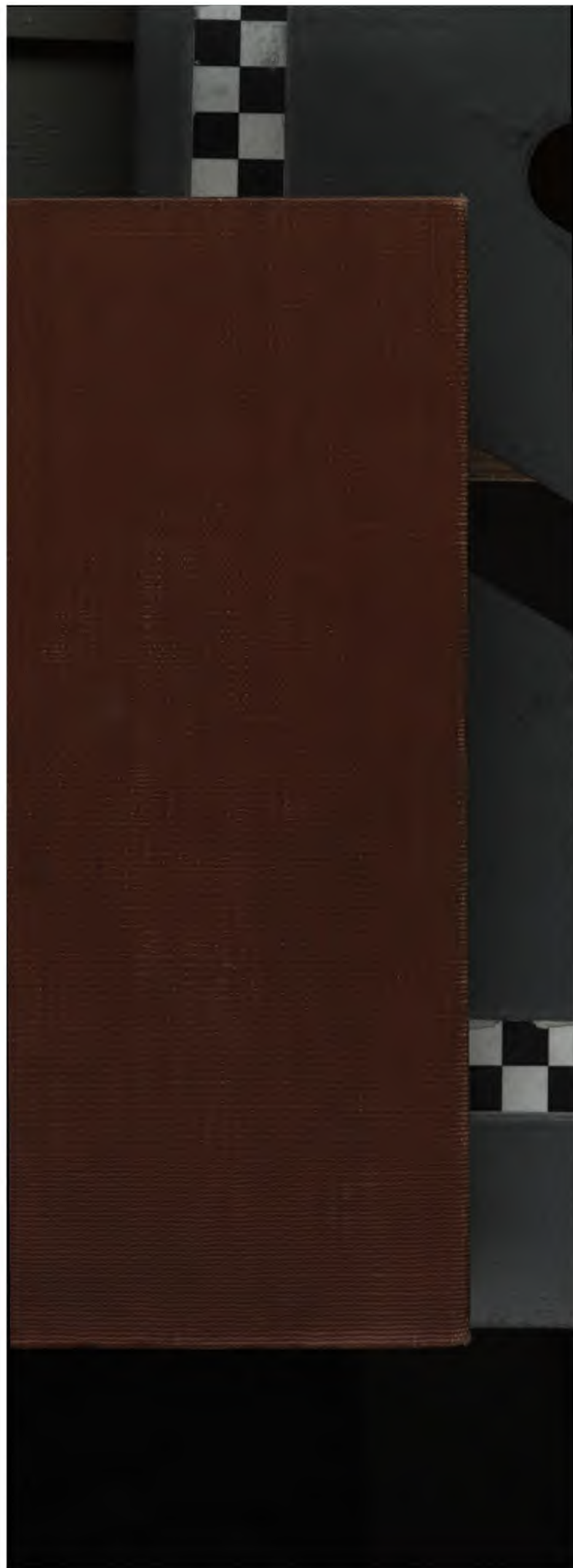
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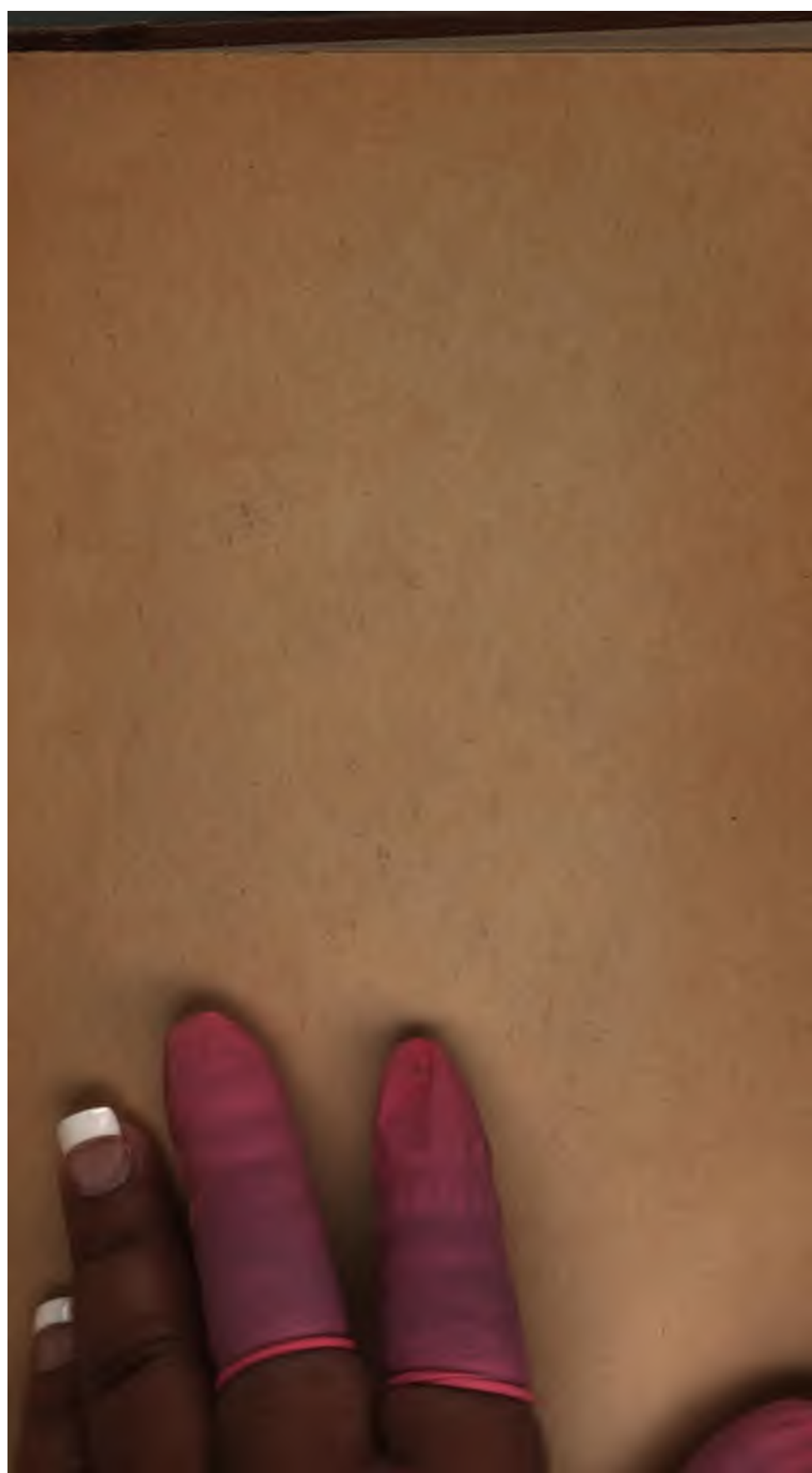
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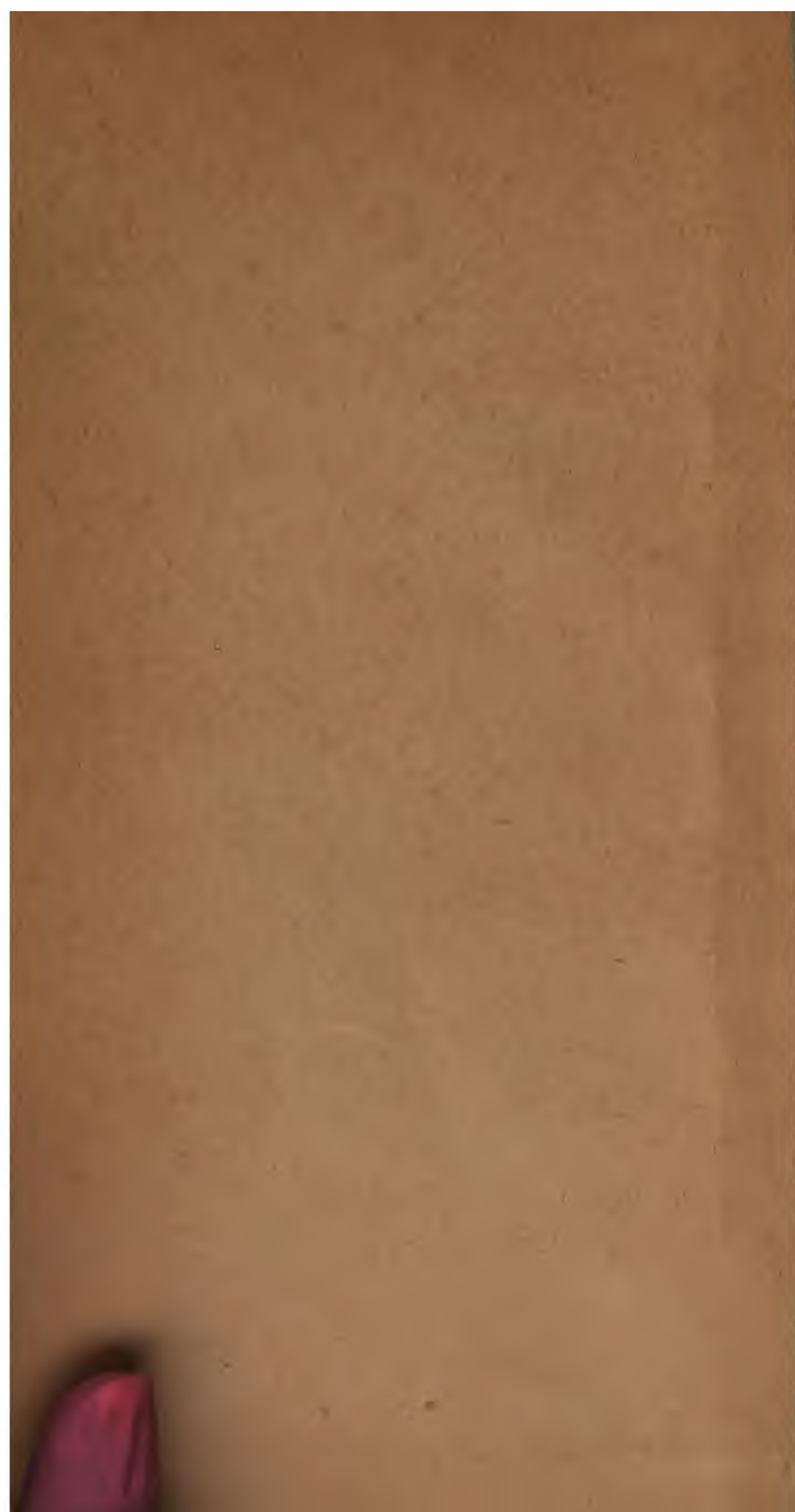
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LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY





VOL. XIII.

NEW SERIES.

PART I.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 26, 1899.



WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.

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CONTENTS.

	Page.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	1
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	12
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. <i>William B. Weedon.</i>	19
THE BOSTON MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. <i>Charles A. Chase</i>	61
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	40
GIVERS AND GIFTS	68
CERTAIN ADDITIONAL NOTES TOUCHING UPON THE SUBJECTS OF IGNOMINIOUS PUNISHMENTS AND OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CUP- RENCY. <i>Andrew McFarland Davis</i>	67
WHAT CAUSED THE DEPORTATION OF THE ACADIANS? <i>James P. Baxter</i>	74

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

1 -

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

**EDWARD E. HALE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.**

**CHARLES A. CHASE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.**

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XIII.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
NOTE	vii.
ERRATA	viii.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 26, 1899.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	1
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>William Babcock Weeden</i>	12
<i>Charles Augustus Chase.</i>	
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. <i>William B. Weeden</i>	19
THE BOSTON MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.	
<i>Charles Augustus Chase</i>	31
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	40
<i>Givers and Gifts</i>	53
CERTAIN ADDITIONAL NOTES TOUCHING UPON THE SUBJECTS OF IGNOMINIOUS PUNISHMENTS AND OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CUR- RENCY. <i>Andrew McFarland Davis</i>	67
WHAT CAUSED THE DEPORTATION OF THE ACADIANS? <i>James Phinney Baxter</i>	74

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1899.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	101
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>James Phinney Baxter</i>	120
<i>Charles Augustus Chase.</i>	
THE WRITING OF HISTORY. <i>James Phinney Baxter</i>	138
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	148
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	154
<i>Givers and Gifts</i>	167
THE AMERICAN JURISDICTION OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON IN COLONIAL TIMES. <i>Stimson Eben Baldwin</i>	179
SEVERAL GREAT LIBRARIES. <i>James Frothingham Hunnewell</i>	222

ANDROS RECORDS. <i>Robert Noxon Toppan</i>	237
THE FOREST OF DEAN. <i>John Belloos</i>	269

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 25, 1900.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING	293
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>Samuel Swett Green</i>	296
THE CRAIGIE HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE. <i>Samuel Swett Green</i>	312
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	353
<i>Givers and Gifts</i>	370
A PHILANTHROPIST OF THE LAST CENTURY IDENTIFIED AS A BOSTON MAN. <i>Alexander Graham Bell</i>	383
WILLIAM PAINE. <i>George Ebenezer Francis</i>	394
SOME FACTS ABOUT JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT. <i>George Parker</i> <i>Winship</i>	409
SOME NOTES ON ISAIAH THOMAS AND HIS WORCESTER IMPRINTS. <i>Charles Lemuel Nichols</i>	429
THE MASCOUTINS. <i>Lucien Carr</i>	448
ANDROS RECORDS. <i>Robert Noxon Toppan</i>	463
ANDROS'S PROCLAMATION MONEY. <i>Andrew McFarland Davis</i>	500
INDEX	511

NOTE.

The Thirteenth Volume New Series of the Proceedings, herewith presented, includes the proceedings at the April Meetings in 1899 and 1900, and the Annual Meeting in 1899.

The contributions accompanying the Reports of the Council, were written by William B. Weeden, James Phinney Baxter and Samuel S. Green. Other papers are given by Andrew McFarland Davis, Simeon E. Baldwin, James F. Hunnewell, Robert N. Toppan, John Bellows, Alexander Graham Bell, George E. Francis, George P. Winship, Charles L. Nichols, Charles A. Chase and Lucien Carr.

A carefully prepared Index accompanies the volume.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 26, 1899, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE meeting was called to order by President STEPHEN SALISBURY, and an abstract of the report of the previous meeting was read by the Recording Secretary.

The following members were present :

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis, Egbert C. Smyth, Edward G. Porter, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weedon, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, James P. Baxter, George W. Cable, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, Charles P. Bowditch, Edwin D. Mead, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Henry A. Marsh, Edward F. Johnson, William De Loss Love, Jr., Rockwood Hoar, James L. Whitney, Thomas C. Mendenhall, Francis C. Lowell, William T. Forbes, Edwin A. Grosvenor, Arthur Lord, George H. Haynes, Waldo Lincoln, John Noble.

The Report of the Council was submitted by Mr. WILLIAM B. WEEDON, who also read a paper entitled, "The Development of the American People."

The Recording Secretary read a paper giving the different places in which the Boston meetings of the Society had been held, showing that it was now the guest of the American

Academy of Arts and Sciences for the fifty-second and last time. The paper included entertaining extracts from the diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, who was librarian of the Society from 1831 to 1835, describing his journeys to Boston to attend the meetings.

President SALISBURY, in behalf of the Council, offered the following resolution :

"Resolved, That the Secretary convey to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences the gratitude of the Society for the kindness and hospitality which for so many years has given us the use of the rooms of the Academy for the semi-annual meetings in Boston."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The Report of the Council was accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

On recommendation of the Council, the following new members were admitted to the Society :

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, of New Haven, Conn.

GEORGE GRENVILLE BENEDICT, of Montpelier, Vt.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, of Boston.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, of Providence, R. I.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A. M., presented a paper touching on the subject of "Ignominious Punishments."

An essay entitled, "What caused the Deportation of the Acadians?" was read by Hon. JAMES P. BAXTER, of Portland, Me.

Prof. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR, of Amherst College, presented a paper on "American Diplomacy."

Alluding to the extracts from the diary of Librarian Baldwin, Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER said : "It might be interesting to the members to know that the old Mather house is

still standing. It has been the 'Azorean' boarding-house for some time. A fruiterer occupies the ground floor. It is a two-story wooden house, with dormer windows. It was built by Increase Mather immediately after the fire of 1676, which drove him out of his old house in North Square. That house stood where Paul Revere's house now stands. Mather built this house over in Hanover Street, on the west side, just beyond North Bennett Street, and he had quite an extensive garden and orchard around the house. The building has undergone many changes, and you might pass it by without noticing it, as it is overshadowed by larger brick buildings, and occupied by the children of the alien. I have had a very good water-color made of the house, and I should be glad to show it to any member interested in the subject. There were four or five generations of old divines living in this famous parsonage."

Vice-President GEORGE F. HOAR, at the request of Prof. E. Harlow Russell, Principal of the State Normal School at Worcester, presented to the Society a manuscript sermon of the Rev. Dr. Aaron Bancroft, one of the founders of the Society, father of George Bancroft, delivered in the early part of this century, on the occasion of the death of Francis Blake, an eminent leader of the Worcester bar.

Senator HOAR also said:—"I would like to say one word about the matter of our diplomacy. Of course there is no time to enter into that very interesting and broad subject which has been presented. We labor under one or two very serious difficulties, and those are difficulties which make it true that, in general,—I do not speak now of Dr. Franklin and John Adams and the Declaration of Independence,—but in general what we gain by diplomacy is gained not by the skill or energy of the minister abroad who represents us, but grows out of—what we call the logic of events—existing conditions which command the

know that unless they come to something that the matter is going over, and is going to be renewed by England fifteen or twenty years hence, and the same English servants will be there to do it. That is one great difficulty we labor under, and unless we have got a condition of things like that which existed at the time of the great treaty of 1871, when we exacted reparation from England, and when she could not afford to wait any longer, had to send her men over here with instructions to go back with the thing settled somehow,—she gets this great advantage over us.

Then there is another thing which makes us inferior to foreign governments, of which we feel the difficulty in all our diplomacy, and that is the absolute power of our foreign competitors of preserving full confidence and secrecy in their transactions. The government can say what shall be done, and the two parties in England consult each other, stand by each other, and sustain each other in everything pertaining to diplomacy. Here, the President or the Secretary of State or the foreign minister has not only to encounter the jealous and unreasonable criticism of political opponents, but the thing has to be submitted to the Senate and has to get a two-thirds vote. I hope without offence, I will give a single illustration. We had an arbitration treaty negotiated with England a year or two ago, of which I was myself an earnest supporter. That treaty was submitted to the Senate. It was expected if it was adopted to be a model in like treaties between us and foreign governments. It provided among other things, that two justices of our Supreme Court, of whom we have but nine in all, should be members of the tribunal whenever its services were called into requisition. The result of that would have been that while these great international disputes might go on for months or years sometimes, the Supreme Court of the United States would be reduced to a working force of seven. There must be a quorum to support any decision, so that if illness or fee-

bleness from old age, or the death of a person in the family should disable two of the other judges, it would leave great constitutional questions to be decided by a majority of five, and three judges could have decided a constitutional question like that of the Income Tax for instance, if this proposition in that treaty had been adopted. Now there are several other things affecting the general principle of the thing, but I will not detain the Society by going into this matter at this late hour.

You remember well, Mr. President, that when the Geneva treaty was made, there was a clamor all over England, which made it very doubtful whether England would go to Geneva at all. It was only the great skill of Mr. Evarts that got them to go to Geneva.. If we had a like treaty with the other great nations of the world, and had arbitrations with three or four of them going on at once, what would become of the Supreme Court of the United States? Suppose we had adopted this treaty, as it was originally proposed, and the first great occasion for putting it in requisition had related to a question about which either nation had for years had intense feeling, that its national honor was at stake, and it had failed in the first attempt to apply it. So you see how important it was to get a clear description of the matters to be submitted. Yet before the papers that accompanied the treaty had been laid on the table of the Senate, three days after it had gone in in the first place, and before the treaty itself without the papers had got back from the Congressional printer, there was a clamor from the press, the pulpit, many humane people, and the peace-loving people of the North to ratify that treaty at once. That is an instance of our difficulty in dealing with diplomacy, and if we are going to enter upon the field of government or of national expansion, which requires us to deal as equals with the trained skill, and secret and quick-acting diplomacy of the great nations of Europe, we have got to have methods

like theirs. We have got to have trained diplomatic servants who know their business, who know the history of diplomacy, who know what is wanted. We have got to have an arrangement which will maintain the secrecy of the transaction until it is completed."

Dr. HALE said the members of the Society had already been reminded that Oliver Cromwell was born on the 25th of April, 1599. It is evidently desirable that a proper commemoration of this day shall be held in New England on the 5th of May, which in New Style represents the beginning of a new century since the birth of this great man. It is understood that our venerable sister, the Massachusetts Historical Society, proposes to summon on some proper day a representation from different historical societies of New England, who may put on record some appropriate testimony of the value of Cromwell's life to the world.

Dr. Hale said that at the proper moment he would move that at such a meeting the officers of the Society represent us, with such additional persons as the President may name for that purpose.

It is evident that on such an occasion we may say that that which will be for many years the standard authority on the life of Cromwell for readers of whatever nation is the book of our distinguished countryman, Mr. Samuel Harden Church, whose studies of the life of the Protector have been careful and accurate. It is to be hoped that Mr. Church may prepare some monograph on the beginning of the fourth century after his birth, on the lines of the article which he has already published. The popular life, by Dr. Clark of Hartford, has already placed Cromwell's name before the younger readers of this country in its proper significance. It is difficult to make such readers understand that their fathers and grandfathers were brought up in an atmosphere tainted by the preju-

dices of Clarendon and of Hume, so that even in an American school, boys and girls were taught that Cromwell was a liar, a blasphemer, a usurper, and everything else that is bad.

In the year 1895, Dr. Clark offered a large and handsome premium for a drama on the life and death of Cromwell which might be suited for the presentation of that hero and his time upon the stage. In the examination of the dramas which were written in this competition, no one of them seemed quite suited for public performance, and the prize, having been intended for that purpose simply, was not awarded. The recent death of one of the most spirited of our younger writers, Mr. Walter Storrs Rigelow, recalls to my own memory the fact that he wrote one of these tragedies,—a poem, as I think, well worth study and memory in any circle of readers who are interested in that great era of history. It is remarkable, indeed, that no dramatist has before this seized on the great experiences of this epoch to bring them before the world in that form which has proved to be the most durable method known to history.

The place of Cromwell in the history of New England is so important that it deserves special consideration. In the letter of John Cotton to him, written in acknowledgment of Cromwell's announcement of the great mercy of the victory at Worcester, Cotton intimates that there had been an early acquaintance between Cromwell and Hooker, the founder of New Haven.

In citing this passage, Carlyle says:

"There are traceable various small threads of relation, interesting reciprocities and mutualities, connecting the poor young infant, New England, with its old Puritan Mother and her affairs, in those years which ought to be disentangled, to be made conspicuous and beautiful, by the Infant herself; now that she has grown big: the busy old Mother, having had to shove them, with so much else of the life, hastily out of her way for the present."

Our own historians have not failed to refer to the interest which Cromwell always took in New England, and the phrase "The friend of New England," largely used in our own time, is borrowed from one of these writers. His personal connection with New England has not been quite so closely traced as one could wish. The open question whether he meant to come here himself is still undecided. The Prince Society has brought to light the interesting statement that he said he was more afraid of John Wheelwright at football when they were boys than he had ever been since in any of the exigencies of his life. The letter of Cotton preserved by Hutchinson, from an original then in the State House, seems to show that his intimacy with Cromwell dated back to the old days when the relations of the town of Huntington with the city of Boston were close. Cotton says :

"I received the other day a letter from my reverend brother Mr. Hooker of New Haven, who certifieth me that your Lordship made special mention of me in your late letters to him, with tender, loving, and more respectful salutations than I could expect. Withal he moved me to write to your Lordship, as believing that you would accept the same in good part. This is my excuse [for writing] such as it is."

When our distinguished friend Prof. Dexter discovers for us the original correspondence between Hooker and Cromwell, and edits it, with his notes, he will make a valuable addition, not simply to the history of New England, but to the period perhaps most interesting though least known, of the early life of the Protector.

In closing an address to the Historical Society on the 12th of February, 1869, I said :

As time has passed by, the Parliament of England has learned that Oliver Cromwell was never sovereign of that island. In the line of statues of English sovereigns in Parliament House, the eye first rests upon the vacant

space between the image of Charles I. and Charles II. There is no Cromwell there! Yet, if he were not sovereign of England for the ten years after the royal trader died, it would be hard to say who was. He was not the sovereign of New England in those years. In those years, New England knew no sovereign but her people. But he was the friend of New England, and the friend of her rulers. They loved him, they believed in him, they honored him. He represented the power which, for ten years, triumphed in Old England, and which has triumphed in New England all this time. Massachusetts is about to acknowledge her debt to Westminster, which she can never pay, by erecting his statue in the National Capitol. There it is to stand, first among the founders of America: first, where Virginia Dare and John Smith and George Calvert, and even Roger Williams and William Penn, are seated. When that obligation is thus acknowledged, Massachusetts may well erect in her own Capitol, face to face with Chauncy's statue of George Washington, the statue which England has not reared, of Oliver Cromwell. It may bear this inscription:—

OLIVER CROMWELL
 THIS MAN BELIEVED IN INDEPENDENCY
 HE WAS SOVEREIGN OF ENGLAND FOR TEN YEARS
 HE WAS THE FRIEND OF NEW ENGLAND THROUGH HIS LIFE.

THIS statue stands here till the England which
 we love, and from which we were born, shall
 know who her true heroes were.

We have not yet erected our own statue to Cromwell. The English Parliament House has this year received an admirable bronze statue of him: and I am afraid, therefore, that we must own that for once the slow pace of their tortoise has outrun the swifter intentions of our hare.

It is pleasant to us here to know that in Judge Chamberlain's admirable collection of autographs in the Boston Public Library, is a note, in Cromwell's handwriting, to the Admiralty, in which he gives directions for the fitting out of a strong fleet of twenty vessels. This was in the period of the difficulties with Spain, which will readily be remembered. I am not particularly informed in such matters;

but, judging from Carlyle's book, this fragment must be the last written autograph of Cromwell now known.¹ There are but three later letters, which are the celebrated letters in Latin, written by Milton, with regard to the Piedmontese sufferers, and a letter to the King of France on the same subject. None of these seem to exist in autograph.

Dr. HALE's motion, outlined above, was put and carried.²

Upon motion of SAMUEL S. GREEN, it was voted that the papers presented at this meeting be referred to the Committee of Publication to be printed in the Proceedings.

The meeting adjourned at two o'clock, and the members from a distance were entertained by those living in Boston and its neighborhood with a collation at the Parker House.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

¹Since the meeting of the Society, I learn from Judge Chamberlain, that the paper referred to is probably a well executed fac-simile of the original, by Cromwell. E. E. H.

²The PRESIDENT subsequently appointed Mr. EDWIN D. MEAD, Mr. JOHN NOBLE and Dr. HALE, as this committee, and under their direction a crowded meeting was held in the First Church of Boston, in commemoration of the great Protector. The service was held on the evening of the 12th of May.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE report of the Librarian, besides showing the accessions to the Library during the last six months with the reflections which they suggest, records the introduction of electric light into our building, an improvement which will be appreciated by those who have occasion to consult our treasures on dark days or on the short days of the winter season.

The Council recommends that the Society make some suitable expression of thanks to the American Academy of Science, as whose guests our Boston meetings have been held for more than half a century.

We have to chronicle the deaths of Lewis H. Boutell of Evanston, Ill., Edward G. Mason of Chicago, and Philipp J. J. Valentini of New York city. Brief memoirs of these gentlemen follow, furnished by J. Evarts Greene, Esq., President Salisbury, and Prof. Franklin B. Dexter :—

Lewis Henry Boutell was elected a member of this Society at its annual meeting in 1895. He attended but one of our meetings—that of April, 1896. If he had lived longer he would probably have contributed something of interest and value to our proceedings, for he was a zealous student of the early history of the republic and had searched with an acute and illuminating vision the public lives of our statesmen of the Revolutionary period and that immediately following.

Mr. Boutell was born in Boston, July 21, 1826. His early education was obtained in private schools in that city and in Providence. He was graduated at Brown University in 1844, and received the degree of LL.B. at Harvard Law School in 1847. He practised law in Boston,

Westborough and Worcester, until 1862, when he enlisted in the 45th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, commonly known at that time as "The Cadet Regiment." After the expiration of his term of enlistment,—nine months,—he returned for a time to his law practice in Worcester, but a little later moved to Warrensburg, Missouri. He had not been there long when the advance of the Confederate General Price into the State made it necessary to provide additional means of defence. Mr. Boutell was active in raising a regiment of infantry and was commissioned its Major. He served with the regiment for a time in Missouri, and then it was despatched with other troops to reinforce General Thomas near Nashville, where it arrived in season to take part in the great battle in which General Hood was signally defeated and his army dispersed.

At the close of the war, Mr. Boutell removed to Evanston, near Chicago, and resumed the practise of law in the latter city. He was soon after appointed Assistant District Attorney of the United States for the district of Illinois, having the principal charge of the business of that important district. So thorough and efficient was his organization of the office that it served as a model for the offices in many surrounding districts. Though at first inexperienced in admiralty and revenue practice, as were most Chicago lawyers at that time, his mastery of it was soon recognized, and after his retirement from the office of Assistant District Attorney in 1871, he was repeatedly retained for the United States, as special counsel in important cases. He continued to practise law with increasing reputation and success for some twenty years longer and retired at length to spend his remaining years in study and travel. His favorite pursuit in these later years was the study of the work of the convention which framed the constitution of the United States, and analysis of the influence, personal and other, by which its essential provisions were shaped and

their adoption secured. Some of the results of these studies appeared in papers on Hamilton, Jefferson and Sherman, read before historical societies of which he was a member, and especially in his life of Roger Sherman, the only adequate memoir of that statesman. This work he undertook at the request of our senior Vice-President, who at one time hoped to perform it himself, but finding that imperative duties left no opportunity for this task, placed at Mr. Boutell's disposal the mass of material he had collected for it.

Mr. Boutell had suffered for some years from a rheumatic affection which impaired his bodily activity and to some extent his general health. He died suddenly of heart failure January 16, of this year, at Washington, where he was spending the winter.

Mr. Boutell married in 1852 Anna, daughter of the late Rev. David Greene, then of Windsor, Vermont, but formerly for many years Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. She survives him with two sons, one of whom is now the representative in Congress of a Chicago district, and a daughter. Their oldest son, a young man of great promise, died in early youth.

Mr. Boutell was of strong and pure character, inflexibly upright. His intellect was vigorous and thoroughly disciplined, his professional knowledge wide and accurate. His power as an advocate lay rather in the clearness and cogency of his argument than in persuasive eloquence. He delighted in the study of history and in the best literature. He was faithful to all the duties of citizenship, and his public spirit was always active, unselfish and abundantly fruitful of good to the community in which he lived. J. E. G.

Edward Gay Mason, son of Roswell B. and Harriet L. (Hopkins) Mason, was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, on August 23, 1839. His father had recently come

from New Jersey as the engineer of the Housatonic Railroad, but on his appointment in 1851 as chief engineer in charge of the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad, he removed to Chicago and became identified with the growth and prosperity of that city, coming especially into prominence by the occurrence of the great fire of 1871, during his term of office as Mayor.

Our associate was graduated at Yale College in 1860, and entered on the practice of law in Chicago in 1863. Endowed with superior mental gifts and a peculiar personal charm, he won easily an eminent rank in his profession, but by preference devoted himself mainly to office practice, and in later years gave most of his attention to real estate business. He was also a controlling spirit in the higher intellectual life of the city. His enthusiasm and activity were prominent factors in the foundation and development of such associations as the Chicago Literary Club and the University Club, and he became known as an admirable public speaker, both on formal and informal occasions.

Perhaps his most valuable service to the community was in connection with the Chicago Historical Society, of which he was President from November, 1887, until his death. Under his inspiring leadership the public interest in that Society was greatly stimulated, and the erection of its present impressive building, at a cost of \$170,000, secured; while by his personal exertions most valuable additions were made to its treasures. He contributed several important papers on local history to the Society's publications, and edited with annotations in 1890 a volume of its Collections on "Early Chicago and Illinois." He had also consented some years since to write the History of Illinois for the series on American Commonwealths published by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., and had completed five chapters, or one of the two volumes which he proposed to fill; it is understood that arrangements

will be made, as soon as practicable, for the publication of this portion of the work by itself.

Mr. Mason was elected as one of the six Alumni Fellows of the Corporation of Yale University in 1891, and was re-elected without opposition in 1897. Knox College in Illinois conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1895. He was made a member of this Society in October, 1887, and it had been a matter of keen regret to him that his distant residence and busy life had prevented his attendance at our meetings.

He died in Chicago, suddenly, from Bright's disease, on December 18, 1898, in his 60th year.

He married on December 25, 1867, Julia M., daughter of Charles Starkweather, of Chicago, who survives him with their family, ten sons and three daughters. F. B. D.

Philipp Johann Joseph Valentini, Ph.D., whose death occurred March 16, 1899, at St. Luke's Hospital, in New York city, was born in Berlin in 1824. His father was an Italian and his mother a German. The father was a teacher of foreign languages, the author of a German-Italian Dictionary valued at this time for its accuracy, and was a tutor at his Majesty's Court. The son Philipp was educated at the Lyceum of Rosleben and in the Gymnasium of Torgau. Later he studied jurisprudence at the University of Berlin, and was appointed auscultator of the Supreme Court. In 1854 he went to Central America and settled on the site of Puerto Limon, on the Atlantic shore of Costa Rica, where he founded the above town under government auspices. Learning that the Costa Ricans could give no account of their ancestry, he returned to Germany in 1858 to search for manuscripts and historical information regarding the colonization of this part of Central America by the Spanish. The results of these studies were embodied in a disputation for which he received the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Jena. His early studies were influenced by his acquaint-

ance with Humboldt, who was a friend of his father. In 1861 he returned to Costa Rica, where he lived for eleven years and developed a coffee plantation. He made several trips along the coast from the Isthmus of Panama as far north as the Boca del Toro, and through Nicaragua and San Salvador into Guatemala, and came into communication with the learned Hermann Berendt. In Guatemala City he discovered a portrait of the famous conquistador Bernal Diaz del Castillo during his researches among the manuscripts of the Institute, which appeared afterwards in the "Historical Magazine," New York. About this time he completed a manuscript of the discovery and conquest of the ancient province of Castilla del Oro, the publication of which was then prevented by a revolution in Costa Rica, and still remains among his unpublished works. His researches went as far as the Quiche ruins of Santa Cruz del Quiche.

In 1871 Dr. Valentini came to New York, and in 1879 was employed as instructor of languages in the preparatory classes of the School for Mining of Columbia University. He began about this time to publish monographs on the archæology of Mexico and Central America as the result of his studies, and these works, though limited in extent, have been welcome to men of science. To a good knowledge of the Maya language he added some acquaintance with the Nahuatl. Linguistics, however, only aided him for attaining scientific ends in other directions. In mental training he was logical, thorough and fundamental, which reflected the critical spirit he had acquired in the higher institutions of learning in Germany. He stated his views frankly and fearlessly, as he thoroughly hated all ambiguity in life, in style and in science, and his literary productions were clear, painstaking, and to the point.

The first of Dr. Valentini's writings that appeared in our Proceedings was his study of the famous Mexican Calendar Stone, first delivered in German in the form of a lecture

in New York city in 1878, and the same year translated in abstract by the President of this Society and published in the Proceedings of the April meeting. Dr. Valentini became a member of our Society in April, 1879, and was frequently present at our meetings, which he seemed to enjoy, and always contributed some learned archæological essay, which he read with an earnest and emphatic utterance, that indicated an entire confidence in the accuracy of his abstruse and scholarly deductions.

Following is a list of the papers he prepared for our Society: Mexican Copper Tools, Illustrated, 1879. The Katunes of Maya History, Illustrated, 1879. The Landa Alphabet; A Spanish Fabrication, Illustrated, 1880. Mexican Paper, Illustrated, 1880. Two Mexican Chalchihuites, the Humboldt Celt and the Leyden Plate, Illustrated, 1881. The Olmecas and the Tultecas, Plates and Map, 1882. Semi Luna and Crescent Shaped Tools, with special reference to those of Mexico, Illustrated, 1885. The Landfall of Columbus at San Salvador, Plate, 1892. Analysis of the Pictorial Text inscribed on two Palenque Tablets. Parts I. and II. Plates, 1894, 1895.

Dr. Valentini left a great number of manuscripts, several of which are practically ready for publication. His most important historical work was entitled "Castilla del Oro," which treats of the early history of Costa Rica, and it is hoped that it will be published by the government of Costa Rica. He was a man of fine presence, genial manners and high character. His industry and learning made his voluminous writings in the highest degree important to archæologists, and our Society was fortunate in commanding so much of his intelligent service.¹

s. s.

For the Council.

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

¹ This abstract is in part taken from a more extended notice of Dr. Valentini by Albert S. Gatschet, published in *The American Anthropologist*. New Series. Vol. I. No. 2. With portrait.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

BY WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

RALEIGH agreed with Sidney that "historians do borrow of poets, not only much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance." If our muse will not admit imaginary work, she always welcomes judgment. It is never beyond the province of history to study the record, to separate the incidental or accidental from the permanent factors, and to search for results, which must be essential and inevitable.

In treating the American People I do not mean that loosely considered and worse interpreted "multitude," which stands too often for the body politic. I would define the American People as such, and to reach that conception we must set forth, first, the State as it exists in the United States of America.

My own simple notion of a State includes the people organized under a regular form of government, settled on a definite territory. If we would have an authoritative statement, let us cite Mr. Jenks¹: "By a State or political society, we understand, at the present day, a community of considerable size, occupying a clearly defined territory, owning direct and complete allegiance to a common authority, and invested with a personality which enables it to act more or less as an individual." This is based on Bluntschli and far exceeds the conceptions prevailing a century ago. Edmund Burke called the State "the nation in its collective and corporate capacity." The modern State has very slowly forged itself out of human consciousness.

¹ *Law and Politics*, p. 68.

Aristotle led the way, and his inductive theories are complete, based as they were on a thorough knowledge of his time. He says "the majority, each member of which taken apart, is not a remarkable man, is however above the superior men: if not individually, at least in the mass, as a feast at the public expense is more splendid than that which only one person provides."

Passing through the Roman empire, feudal kingdoms and the rising popular representation, we come to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The State then took three forms in the minds of philosophers; and its foundations were laid on force, on social contract, on justice. Hobbes maintained the first, bringing man out from the state of nature, which is war, until he is constrained into peace. Locke formulated the second principle. He did not admit absolute force, even in the state of nature, but found man then subject to a primitive law of duty, rather than to his own will. Force was to be used, not for attack, but for defence. Hence came some of the most pregnant political ideas. Before positive civil law could have been, Locke assigned certain natural political rights to each man; rank, liberty of person and property based on labor. Locke's civil power rested not on force, but upon popular consent. He did not falter at the inevitable consequences of this doctrine; insurrection and the right of revolution, which he called the right of appeal to heaven.

Montesquieu follows Locke closely, and we should study both carefully; for politically they formed the minds of our fathers, who made the American Republic. Locke eliminated the great idea of personal liberty and asserted the innate dignity of each man, a child of God. He did not comprehend the method and means of liberty in civil government. Popular consent, administered by a popular assembly, is often the worst of tyrannies. Montesquieu perceived that liberty is not in us, but, so to speak, is and

must be outside ourselves. How could this solemn constraint, this inhering bent directing each man toward a liberty of willing for the common good, instead of the license of his own will, be embodied and made permanent in organized civil government? Montesquieu, studying English experience as well as ancient history, separated the three great functions—not of the State—but of government. There must be a power to make the laws, a power to declare and interpret them, a power to execute them; the legislative, the judiciary and the executive powers.

We come to the third form, resting on justice. This belongs to the most advanced communities. Let us leave these highly developed methods of the State and turn back to the Greek analysis of this greatest of political ideas. The dictum of Aristotle—though profound in its search for the true sources of the State—has not satisfied the wants of numerous thinkers. Though he kept well in hand the aristocratic tendencies of ancient States and saw more clearly than his fellows the growing powers of democracies, yet he did not fully adjust the relation of the State to each individual. His advocacy of slavery is one illustration of this defect. Plato was not equal to the great Stagirite in his practical grasp of affairs, in his application of experience to philosophy and political science. But Plato cannot be reckoned out of any movement of the human mind since his time. His marvellous insight pierced and apprehended the essential ideas of humanity even when he could not formulate those ideas for the work of every day life. His definition of a State reads: "A State arises out of the needs of mankind; no one is self-sufficing, but all of us have many wants."¹ This is a two-fold definition, expressing very well today the harmonious relation between society and the individuals composing it. He does not say common wants. The very essence of a

¹ Republic of Plato, II., 369.

State is stability; that had been proven in Egypt and Assyria. Immense sacrifices had been freely made that man might rear the solid pillars of the State, on the efforts and labors of individual men and women—not fellows, but creatures of the State.

The greatest immediate factor in deranging Plato's orderly harmony proved to be religion and worship. Christianity assumed to divide with the State and to control in large degree the daily lives of its citizens. Professor Seeley¹ pointed out that theocracy—while hardly less influential than aristocracy and democracy—had been overlooked by Aristotle, and only slightly entertained by modern writers.

The eighteenth century brought out politics, as well as philosophy and religion, into freer air and planted them on firmer, broader ground. Man—not a high born, wise, good man—but man as he was, concrete and simple, the creature of God, became the ultimate and acknowledged end of the State. The most complete example of the process was afforded by the United States of America. This was a strictly historical and experimental process. The immediate theories came from Locke and Montesquieu, but they were enlightened and corrected by all the deductive thought and experience of all the sages who had gone before. In fact, the feudal modification of Roman, organic, political society—deflected by a religious hierarchy—passed from continental Europe into the British isles. Though America grew out of institutions—impelled by a positive hereditary tendency—her founders brought those institutions to new tests and conditions, then cultivated them in a new political soil, warmed by a new political atmosphere. The Puritans planted the most stringent hierarchy known before Cromwell and Harrison. Alongside and out of it, Roger Williams developed absolute

¹ Political Science, p. 52.

spiritual freedom, governed "only in civil things," something then unknown. The Anglican Episcopal Church occupying Virginia became an American Church; over the border, the Catholic Baltimore granted toleration of faith. The Quaker in Pennsylvania, the fiercely Independent Presbyterian everywhere, stood for a nearer relation to God than any civilized community had ever known.

Let us now consider the American people, in whom reside the governing organs of this State, as above described. We may lay down several propositions, coming from the ethnological and social experience of this people.

I. The primitive types of race, Aryan, Celtic, Teutonic, have been greatly modified in forming any Englishman, Irishman, German, or other European.¹

II. The processes of change occurring in European life—as they worked in forming the characteristics of the above individuals in their various nationalities—these changing and forming causes were immensely accelerated by the new conditions of the new world.

III. These conditions of change—or a new environment—worked by a selection of individuals in the amalgamation of our people. Instead of tribal or even feudal families perpetuating their traits in a nation, the newly selected individuals, chosen from many nations, united in forming a new people.

IV. These conditions of mingling races with free selections of individuals were in a large sense a social condition or environment. This social condition in the United States necessarily worked under and through political agencies, the most potent and elastic ever known. This constant political pressure, working and according with race or blood heredity in the United States, has operated to produce a new political race or people.

The term Nation has a certain meaning which must be

¹Gardner, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, VIII., pp. 263, 266, 267. Mackay, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XXI., p. 473.

distinguished and considered in this connection. It might be argued that nation is coming to mean, in these days, a type of structure, instead of a line of descent. "Each Nation has its customs, its manners, and each People has its government." Lineage, language, historical tradition, inherited laws, at times any or all of these make a nation. In this sense, we ascend from the family, through the tribe and horde, into a nation. Something more than this makes a people. The office of king, elective or hereditary, as distinguished from a tribal chieftain, came from the people.

Nation and nationality are often improperly confounded with the idea of the State. Various causes formed the European nations and states; one overwhelming political cause formed the United States. This controlling political factor modified the previous traditional hereditary or circumstantial causes, that shaped the life of European communities. In Plato's twofold idea of the State—*i. e.* individuals leaning together for the satisfaction of many differing wants—stability and desire were balanced. The despotic form of State, where individuals were remorselessly sacrificed to stability, was passing away in the more enlightened Grecian time. For thorough stability as now understood, it is necessary to give to the modern State or political entity much of the personal or moral quality. Contrariwise, when a State is surely grounded politically, it can allow much latitude to individual and personal freedom.

We shall comprehend our own peculiar conditions better if we consider separately the very different circumstances of Europe. No one has weighed this serious problem more carefully than Renan,¹ or set it forth with more brilliant expression. He holds it a great error to confound race with nation, or to attribute sovereignty to ethno-

¹ Lalor's Cyclopaedia, II., 924.

graphic or rather linguistic groups. France, England, Germany and Russia will be, for hundreds of years, "historic individuals." This, as will be perceived, is a modern and is not the ancient rendering of the nation. The Germanic peoples, in the period 5th-10th century, did not change the races of France, Italy or Spain, but imposed aristocratic government upon them; they made a "fusion of the peoples." A French citizen may be a Gaul, Burgundian or Visigoth, or all of these together. The essence of a nation is that individual members must have many things in common, also "must have forgotten many things." In this sense, the nation is the historic result, a series of facts all tending to the same end. Dynastic causes may prevail; they are not absolute, as we see in Switzerland and in the United States. Nation is not based on race; there is no pure race. Nor upon language; language invites to union, but does not compel it. Languages are historic formations that "give little indication of the blood of those who speak them." Religion, which once comprehended the very existence of the social group, is not the key; nor is community of interests, nor geography. A nation, according to Renan, is a great "solidarity," constituted by the sentiment proceeding from sacrifices that have been made, and anticipating those the community is still disposed to make. It supposes a past. "Man is not the slave of his race, his tongue, his religion, or of rivers or mountain chains. A great aggregation of men, of sound mind and warm heart, creates a moral conscience, which is called a nation." Another French writer, M. Block, has said that nationality is an important political element, not necessarily a controlling one. It is a sentiment of doubtful purity and "does not flow generally from justice or personal dignity, but from hatred of the foreigner, and frequently from ignorance." Barbarisms and despotisms often nourish powerful nationalities. Authorities generally agree that nationality is a hindrance

rather than a help in the higher course of political development, which is coming to inspire and regulate civilization.

The word people carries in its etymological structure a whole leaf out of the history of civilization; an embodiment of political progress. In the early days of Rome, this body being included with the Senate, formed a governing class, entirely distinct from the populace or plebeians. In those primitive times, when coördinated with the Senate in the business of government, it was socially and politically a subordinate aristocracy. From this strict classification the word has gradually widened its scope, until it includes all the effective members of the body politic in America. In royal governments, kings always said "My People." This phrase was a political ideal, toward which the actual socio-political fact has constantly tended.

Do not imagine that this historical evolution is easily traced, or that it moves always in direct lines. Blackstone, reflecting the movement of the eighteenth century, loosely defines people in two senses. The first includes all human beings in a country, governors or subjects, male or female. The second definition puts king and parliament into one class, while all other members of English society are included in the term "people." These classifications have been severely criticised, but they were, perhaps, the best working definitions for the time and place. The subtle evolution of the word is fairly reflected in a phrase uttered by Viennet, about 1825: "The people is proud as a gentleman. In the greatest lord it would see only a man." No American community would exclude from the people as a political body, any one not an alien or a criminal. Socially, the word is used in a different sense. To define and set off the rich, we say, common people, or rich and poor people; or people of a city, as distinguished from that of the country. Though wealth is potent in many ways, rich persons have no political recognition here.

The French distinctions, stated so forcibly by Viennet, could not have the same significance here. If we construe them in the broadest sense, as embodying the intangible results of wealth and culture—a fine expression of social refinement—yet they would not apply in American society. The term gentleman has been restricted often to the ways of a particular class; then to an affectation of the manners of that class.

People must not be confounded with the electorate. People includes men, women and children, and it means the raw material of the whole political system. Voting electors are the first defined political organ, the people being an amorphous political substance. If we consider it as plasma, and the electorate as protoplasm, then representatives—in town, county, state or federal government—are the rudimentary expressions of the popular will. The self-governing development of the United States has brought the representative into close sympathy with the desires and purposes of the people. An American politician never says "my patrons," he always addresses "my constituents."

We may now define people in its largest political significance in the United States. It includes peoples, nations in the lineal sense, and races in one amalgam. This is a new sovereign or governmental stuff. It may make kingdoms, empires or republics, according to the nature of the stuff. Mr. Roosevelt¹ has shown an exact socio-political parallel to this genesis and evolution of a political people in his study of the settlements formed on the western slopes of the Alleghanies. The Scotch-Irish race mingled with English, more or less German, a few Dutch and Huguenot French families, formed the social fringe of the Atlantic colonies and States. This pioneer vanguard of civilization made a singularly homogeneous mass of back-

¹"Winning of the West," vol. I.

woodsmen. Whatever their origin or previous locality, they were all alike and were all American backwoodsmen in the socio-political work which had fallen to them. To hunt bear or Indian, to plant corn, to call a county meeting, to marry their children, to preach and pray, to organize courts of justice—all these varying steps in civilized life became their daily walk by almost preternatural intuition. The people moved forward with one purpose and generally with one method.

While the process was more dramatic and picturesque in the limited opportunities of the last century, it has been essentially similar in the present century. An equivalent fusion of race characteristics and previous experiences has been going forward and working itself out in all the United States. This elastic backwoods or frontier element, mingling with itself citizens from the old Atlantic States and a constant stream of European immigrants, has settled and improved one section of this continent, especially the portion called the West and Northwest. Combining blood, hereditary experience and national tendency, it has formed the solid amalgam of the American people.

The controlling political element—the flavor, so to speak—of the racial development was in the Anglo-German tendency to self-government. The civic impulse of the citizen moved from his own centre, but always tended toward the political action and conduct of his fellows. This political tendency—strangely difficult for Latins and Celts in the original—became easy enough for any and all stocks of Americans, however derived, when carried into new racial grooves by the movement of local and federal politics. English or Irish, German or French, all went one way. Local institutions firmly fixed the individual citizen in his right of initiative and in the corresponding restraint of self-control. After 1865, the national or imperial impulse carried the citizen higher and widened him out. Thus person, family, race, nation

were fused and mingled in one grand political current—the people.

Recent publicists generally agree that the State is a moral entity.¹ That man was the ultimate and end of the State was not a mere theoretical idea in America. It was a practical system of government, expressed by and attainable through the people—such a people as I have described. Through the constitution, this American people got themselves together and organized the State. In 1812, they maintained the flag of the United States. In 1861-1865, having burst the swaddling clothes of local government, they grew into imperial government.

Before closing this statement of the harmonious growth of State and people, we should distinguish between the functions of the State and those of any government within that State. It is quite common to confound the nature of the State—the moral entity above described—and the concrete art of government. Only recently has this practical distinction in great affairs been recognized. "Publicists do not sufficiently distinguish the State from the government. They see the danger to individual liberty of recognizing an unlimited power in the government, and they immediately conclude that the same danger exists if the sovereignty of the State be recognized."² The State must vindicate its right to be. With their ready appre-

¹ "History ascribes to the State a personality which, having spirit and body, manifests a will of its own."—Bluntschli, "Theory of the State," Book I., Chap. I.

"The State is not a mere physical but rather a moral entity."—Seeley, "Political Science," p. 23.

"The inner ground of the origin of the State is the fact that an aggregate of persons has a conscious feeling of its unity and gives expression to this unity by organizing itself as a collective personality and constituting itself as a volitional and active subject."—Jellinet, the Austrian, cited by Willoughby, "The Nature of the State," p. 119. And cf. Willoughby, p. 8. Burgess "Political Science," I., pp. 51, 52.

² Burgess, *Political Science*, I., 57.

"Simple and definite as is this distinction between the State and its governmental machinery, it is one that has seldom been made."—Willoughby, "Nature of the State," p. 8.

"The State is something inestimably wider than its government."—McKechnie, "The State and the Individual," p. 47.

hension of great political principles, our people have been quick to assert the majesty and dignity of the State. Now, the United States of America—with the Isthmian canal, when built—will be the first example of a continental power. Aside from any questions of relative strength, this peculiar position of the United States will make her a powerful factor in balancing the adjustments of Europe and Asia. The march and countermarch of armies across Europe, even by a Napoleon or a Moltke, would not control the world now. The sea is immensely greater than the land. Floating fortresses with the readiest steam and the best served guns rule the world.

The American people, after mastering a continent in its development; is a great, possibly the greatest, example of the sublime unity of the State. From the rule of fetish and of medicine man, through chieftain and tribe, animated by religion and philosophy, the great body of the common people has been lifted in steady ascent, until it controls its own destiny. That destiny is now carrying the most active and powerful of peoples, the most religious of nations, into wider contact and larger influence with the peoples of the world.

THE BOSTON MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

BY CHARLES A. CHASE.

THE American Antiquarian Society holds its spring Semi-annual Meeting today, as the guest, for the fifty-second time, of its sister organization, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. At its meeting on May 26, 1847, President Edward Everett communicated a vote passed by the Academy on the day previous, inviting the Antiquarian Society to use the Academy's rooms for its meetings in Boston "when it may be convenient and agreeable"; whereupon it was voted:—

That the Society with pleasure accepts the kind offer, and will in future avail themselves of the politeness of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and that the thanks of this Society be extended to the Academy therefor.

The Academy was then occupying rooms at No. 7½ in Tremont Row, and there our Society met on the last Wednesday of May in 1848, 1849 and 1850, and on the last Wednesday of April in 1851. The Boston Athenæum moved from its old quarters in Pearl Street to this building erected for its use, in 1850. The American Academy took a lease of this room in February, 1852, and on the 28th of April following, our Society came here and has continued to meet here every year to the present time. What possible quarters could the world have furnished, more appropriate and more congenial! The poet Tennyson, if he could have looked in at one of our meetings, would have said that it was certainly an inspiration which

prompted the original invitation for the Antiquarians to occupy the seats of the Academicians.

Books to right of them,
Books to left of them,
Books in front of them;—
Nobody blundered.

But where did the Antiquarian Society meet for the first thirty-five years of its history? And why is its home forty miles away, at Worcester?

Without taking too much time in the threshing of old straw, it may be briefly stated that it was the original purpose of the founder of the Society that it should be national and not local. New England would naturally furnish the greater proportion of men who would be interested and zealous in promoting its objects, and Boston was of course the natural seat of the Society. Here was held the first meeting of the organization, and here the annual meetings were held for eighteen years. But the founder of the Society had, just previous to the battle of Lexington, by night, removed the press and type with which he printed the *Massachusetts Spy* to Worcester, to save them from the tories and the British; and at the very time of the organization of this Society we were engaged in a second war with the mother country. Who could give assurance that the Mather literature and the other choice treasures which were to be gathered, would not suffer destruction in an Atlantic seaport from some future bombardment by Cuban monitors or the armored cruisers of the Filipinos? It was conceded that a *refugium* in the interior would be safer and more desirable, and Worcester was the chosen place.

The Society was incorporated by an Act of the Massachusetts Legislature, approved by Governor Strong on October 24, 1812. The first meeting of the incorporators was called by Isaiah Thomas, duly authorized under the Act, to meet at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, on Thursday,

Nov. 11, 1812, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. It is noticeable that while the correct and present name of the Society was given in the advertisement, it bore the head-line "American Society of Antiquaries." I cannot find that it was ever the desire of Mr. Thomas or others to give it this appellation. There were present at this first meeting, Isaiah Thomas, President Kirkland of Harvard College, Benjamin Russell, Ebenezer T. Andrews, Dr. Redford Webster, Edward Bangs, Aaron Bancroft, D.D., Prof. William D. Peck, Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris and Isaiah Thomas, Jr., only three of them being residents of Worcester. The senior Mr. Thomas was made President.

At an adjourned meeting at the same place, on May 3, 1813, President Thomas presented a large and valuable collection of books, estimated at \$4,000. By-Laws were adopted, providing for an annual meeting on the 22d of December and a meeting on the first Wednesday of June, both at Boston, and a meeting at Worcester on the Wednesday next after the fourth Tuesday of September. The first meeting in Worcester was held "at the dwelling-house of Col. Reuben Sikes, innholder, Sept. 29, 1813." This was "Sikes's Coffee House," an old hostelry at the court end of the town, where Lafayette slept eleven years later, and which was for many years the home, in court time, of visiting members of the bench and bar. It still stands, on the main street, not far from Antiquarian Hall.

On Oct. 23, 1813, the Society celebrated the landing of Columbus by a meeting at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, and after some routine business, marched in procession to the Stone Chapel, to hear "an ingenious and learned address" by the Rev. Prof. William Jenks of Bowdoin College.

The Society continued to hold its meetings at the Exchange Coffee House until the year 1818 inclusive, but in 1819 it met at Foster's Tavern in Congress Hall, and in 1820 at the Marlborough Hotel. The Coffee House,

destroyed by fire in 1818, was rebuilt, and the Society returned there in 1821, continuing its meetings in that hostelry for fifteen years. From May, 1836, to May, 1847, the meetings were held at the Tremont House, and since the latter date in the quarters of the American Academy.

The Exchange Coffee House, built in 1808, served as a Merchants' Exchange during its existence. The original hotel, "when opened for business was much the largest public house in the country. It covered an irregular tract of ground measuring 12,753 square feet and was seven stories in height. It was highly ornamental, but not with good taste, on the exterior, and within was spacious and elegant. There were a great hall for the meetings of merchants, a dining-room capable of seating three hundred persons, a great ball room, and a Masonic hall above."¹ The new hotel with the same name, but not as large, continued until 1853.

Two Doric columns of granite, from the portico of the Tremont House, now stand in Institute Park in Worcester, placed there by the President of this Society, and may serve as a souvenir of what was for eleven years one of our Boston homes.

In October, 1831, the By-Laws were changed, providing for two meetings in the year instead of three, appointing the annual meeting at Worcester on the 23d of October, and providing for a spring meeting in Boston on the last Wednesday of May. The latter day would fall in "anniversary week," and it was thought that a fuller attendance of members might be secured at that time. But the other attractions of that week proved more potent, and in May, 1850, the time was changed to the last week of April.

The dry statistics of times and places, and even the preserved official records of the meetings, can give us no

¹ The Memorial History of Boston. Vol. 4, p. 55.

idea of the spirit which possessed the early members of the Society. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis and other members of a former generation have entertained us at times with delightful impromptu reminiscences, but even these have not been preserved. In the archives of the Society today, however, there is a thesaurus of riches, the diary of one of the earliest librarians,—Christopher Columbus Baldwin,—before whose brilliancy as a chronicler the star of Pepys fades almost into insignificance. This diary, covering the last six or eight years of a life which closed, by accident, at the early age of thirty-five years, is almost without a parallel; and, now that more than sixty years have elapsed since it came to a sudden end, should be printed by the Society, or by subscription, as a pen picture of our early days and of the well-known people, the customs and manners of the early years of the now closing century.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. BALDWIN'S DIARY.

Oct. 24, 1831. I am in Boston at the Tremont in company with Hon. John Davis, William Lincoln, Isaac Goodwin, Samuel M. Burnside Esqs., all of Worcester. This day is the annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society which is the occasion of our being in Boston. The Society met at the Exchange Coffee House. The following gentlemen were present. Rev. Aaron Bancroft, His Excellency Levi Lincoln. His Hon. Lieut. Gov. Thomas L. Winthrop, Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., Rev. Charles Lowell, Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Rev. Wm. Jenks, Hon. Benjamin Russell, Hon. James C. Merrill, Hon. John Davis of Worcester, James Bowdoin, Esq., Joseph Willard, Esq., of Boston, William Lincoln, Isaac Goodwin, Samuel M. Burnside, Esq., Pliny Merrick, Esq., of Worcester, Hon. Edward D. Bangs, Mr. Ebenezer T. Andrews and Mr. [name omitted] of Boston. The meeting was very pleasant, and an entire revolution was proposed and carried into execution, tho' not without manifest opposition from Col. Merrick. At 5 the Society adjourned to 7, and in the interim partook of a magnificent dinner from His Honor Lieut. Gov. Winthrop. Hon. Edward Everett and Rev. Dr. Parkman, of Boston, were present, who were also present at the meeting. The meeting resumed its sitting after dinner, and at about 8 in the evening dissolved. I then went to the Theatre and saw Miss Clara Fisher. She is

delightful! She looks well, acts well and is in truth a most interesting lady. I never have seen any female, off or on the stage, whose appearance gave me so much pleasure. Gall and Spurzheim would swear her head was cast under the direction of a committee of taste chosen at the Court of Beauty. She is not, after all, so handsome, but she looks well, and has decidedly the best shaped head that I have ever seen upon the shoulders of a female. She is rather short, tho' not too much so, and is just fat enough to look delicious. She looks as tho' she might be about 20, yet is about 26 or 7.

Oct. 25. I called upon Joseph Willard in the morning and invited him in company with Isaac Goodwin to accompany me to visit the house occupied by Increase, Cotton and Sam. Mather, to see if there might not be found some of his [*sic*] paper in the garret. I found the house which I supposed to be the one they occupied, and I knocked at the door, and a fat lady came out, and upon my telling her that I came out of respect to the memory of the ancient occupants and wished to visit her garret, to see the famous study and to search for old papers, she told me that had I made such a request the week before she should not have known what answer to have returned to my inquiry, but her husband only the day before while in the garret, dropped a piece of money which slipped through under the floor, and when he raised a board to obtain it, he found the ceiling was completely filled with old papers which nobody could read: and added they can be of no use to you, for you cannot read a word of them!! I insisted upon going into the garret, but she refused outright, and persisted in it to the last. She finally agreed that her husband should gather up all the papers and I might have them and welcome; and again added, "But I tell you you can't read a bit of 'em." They were boxed up and sent to the office of Jo. Willard, Esq. I never have gone away from any house so reluctantly as I did from that. How much, how very much it is to be regretted that our Boston Antiquaries will not rescue such invaluable gems from destruction! Many old houses in the city are full of such treasures. They are perishing daily. The Rev. Dr. Harris, of Dorchester, told me that about thirty years ago, he went into this same garret and that at that time, there were many camels loads of old papers. He brought away some few papers from the great mass that lay heaped together there, and had never been there since! I intended to have visited the Hutchinson house, but other business necessary to be transacted before leaving town, compelled me to postpone the pleasure to some future visit to the city.

Oct. 26, 1831. William Lincoln, Esq., carries me to Worcester. We stop at the College Library and remain there till noon and then go over to Brighton and call on the Hon. Mr. Winship, a distinguished gardener. He is a pleasant, hospitable old Bache-

lor. We go thence and call on Mr. Kenrick, another gardener. He is now 78 and is prodigiously corpulent. He lives in Newton. We go to Dedham to dinner and I copy a few epitaphs; and go thence to Framingham and reach Worcester about 11 o'clock in the evening.

Oct. 27. I remain in Worcester until Saturday morning, visiting and idling away my time. I am a candidate for Librarian of the Antiquarian Society and am anxious lest I be outwitted and another get the place. And my friends desire me to stay on that account that I may reconcile some of my opposers.

1834. On May 27 I went to Boston with William Lincoln to attend the semi-annual meeting of the Society. We left Worcester at 6 in the morning in the mail stage and reached Boston at 12 at noon. Our stage company consisted of the Hon. Benjamin Russell, the famous Editor of the Boston Centinel, Gen. Mattoon of Amherst, Col. Edward G. Prescott of Boston, Mr. Porter from Sturbridge (a brother of Dr. Woodward's wife), a Mr. Green from Hartford, whose father was Benjamin Green, a merchant formerly in Boston and now dead, Mr. Lincoln and myself. This Mr. Green is an Antiquary, and, having a fortune, amuses himself in collecting old Books. He is a small man with very large and frightful whiskers and is very eccentric. He mentioned that he had two Books printed before 1500. He appeared to be a modest man, but a great lover of old things. Mr. Russell and Gen. Mattoon, being Revolutionary soldiers, entertained us with their fighting experience. They refought every battle from that at Lexington to the taking of Cornwallis. Both knew General Washington personally and also Dr. Franklin. Russell mentioned several anecdotes of the latter and one which occurred while he was a printer's boy with Isaiah Thomas at Worcester. Dr. Franklin was on some public business in this part of the country which required his stay at Worcester two or three days. Much of his time was spent in the printing office, and Mr. Russell says that he gave the men some very useful hints about working the press. The press was so constructed that only half of one side of a sheet could be pressed at one motion, and the Doctor took the apparatus out and in a few minutes arranged it so that the whole side of a sheet could be printed at one instead of two operations.

* * * * *

I stopped with Mr. Lincoln at the Tremont House. There were few gentlemen whom I knew. The only one among them any way famous was Stephen H. Long of the United States Army; the same who commanded the expedition to the Rocky Mountains, an account of which was published by Edwin James, and his expedition to discover the sources of the River St. Peter, an account of which was drawn up and published by Keating. He is a small

man of about 50, and not remarkably imposing either in his looks or conversation.

I was in Boston five days and during that time the sun did not appear. The weather was cold and uncomfortable, and it rained nearly every day. I amused myself by going among the different book stores and hunting up American History. I found some hundreds of vols. which I much wanted, that could be purchased for a mere trifle. I had only 15 dollars of the Society's money to expend and this I laid out as advantageously as I could.

May 25, 1835. Took the Stage this morning for Boston to attend the semi-annual meeting of the Antiquarian Society, which is to be on the 27th. At Westborough I left the Stage and took seat in one of the cars of the Rail Road, and reached Boston at 10 A. M. There were about two hundred passengers, nearly half of them being ministers on their way to Boston to attend the various charitable and religious societies that were to hold their anniversaries this week. I was surprised at their youthful appearance, none of them being above thirty-five or forty. The old ones, I think, feel that they are too poor to encounter the expense of such a journey: and besides, their maintenance from salaries is so precarious that they are compelled to exercise the most rigid prudence. Formerly the settling of a minister was a permanent life-matter and parishes took their pastors as men take wives. There must be no backing out from the contract or impatience manifested unless for downright adultery, or some such most flagrant fault. But now ministers are settled for a year or so, and some work by the month, and I have known some who job'd it by the single Sunday and glad to work so. There is a great change in public opinion in relation to the clergy. They are treated as a body with much less respect than formerly.

I stopt at the Tremont House. I went to see the Dioramic view of the Departure of the Israelites out of Egypt. The picture was about thirty feet square, and the light was admitted upon it in such manner as to make it appear infinitely larger. I believe the picture was designed by Martin, though I could find no author's name. The Israelites are represented as going out of the city of Memphis: they are proceeding through an immense street which is lined with the most gorgeous palaces, and in the front ground are seen Moses and Aaron upon an elevated place directing the march. I had more pleasure in examining the picture than anyone I have ever seen. The illusion was most perfect. I visited it twice a day during the four days I was in Boston. I went to the Theatre in the evening.

May 26, 1835. I went to see the famous Cartoons of Raffaele. They are not the Cartoons themselves, but the Tapestries wrought from them. There are four of them, each one being twenty feet long and fourteen feet high. The groundwork or foundation

seems to be a coarse canvas and the figures are wrought with sewing silk, with a needle! The expressions of countenance in all the figures are to the very life. The four pictures are, the "Death of Annanias," "Peter curing the cripple at the gate of the Temple," "Paul preaching at Athens," and "Christ delivering the keys to Peter." Peter curing the cripple pleased me most; but why the Painter makes the cripple a Negro, I do not know. In the same gallery was a copy of Rubens's famous picture of the Crucifixion.

May 27, 1835. The Antiquarian Society met at 12 o'clock at the Exchange Coffee House. Hon. Thomas L. Winthrop, Hon. Judge Merrill, Hon. Benjamin Russell, Hon. Rejoice Newton, Rev. Dr. Charles Lowell, Rev. Thomas Robbins of Rochester, Frederick W. Paine, Rev. Mr. Hill and S. M. Burnside Esq. of Worcester, were the members present. We were all invited to dine with Mr. Winthrop, President of the Society. The Society always dine with him at the annual meetings, and he gives a prime entertainment.

So much from the diary of one who took the long stage ride to the Boston meetings and improved his visit by ransacking old garrets in search of treasures to enrich the collection which he had so much at heart, and after five days' work for the cause, enlivened by visits to the theatre "to see Miss F.," returned to his rural home to enter his experience in a diary which proves so interesting after sixty years.

What Worcester member of today, who takes a morning train and enters this room an hour and fifteen minutes later, returns to his home and before sunset jots down in his journal the anecdotes of Vice-President HOAR, the crisp remarks of Dr. GREEN, the pearls which drop from the lips of EDWARD E. HALE, the nuggets furnished by a score of other members, and the expression of his gratitude to our kind hosts for so many years,—the American Academy of Arts and Sciences?

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE librarian's reports of the past eighteen years have called attention to many Society items of minor value, yet perhaps too important to be overlooked. Such are the three following entries which appear in the handwriting of our founder in volume one of "Donors and Donations": 1. "1814 March 18th. The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes Concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts &c. Folio Printed at Cambridge Massachusetts, 1660. Presented to the Society, by William Stedman Esq. of Worcester. Value 10 dols." * * * . 2. "1814 May 4th The portrait of the late Charles Paxton Esq'r of Boston, in a handsome frame. The Painting by Copely. Mr. Paxton was one of the Board of Commissioners and an officer of the Customs, under the royal Government for several years previous to the Revolution. [The picture is injured.] Presented to the Society, By a Lady—Value"— * * * . 3. "Note. Aug^t. 4th 1823. By the Catalogue of the Society's Library taken some years since by Mr. Jennison and referring to this Book for additions since added, the volumes, pamphlets, &c. in the Library may be ascertained."

The introduction of electric light suggested in the last reports of the treasurer and of the librarian, became an accomplished fact soon after the opening of the new year, at the charge of the Salisbury building fund. While the time-honored Society has always been "given to hospitality," this modern innovation has produced a cheery effect, which has impressed our guests, members and the library staff. Safety and convenience were sought by our library committee, who personally superintended the work. The removal of the dwelling-house on the west—now

owned by the County of Worcester—will add light in the west side of our building as well as relieve us from what has long been a real source of danger from fire. On the fly-leaf of an early volume of "Donations to the American Antiquarian Society with the Names of its Benefactors," Isaiah Thomas made the following entry: "No fire is ever to be made in the room occupied for the Library & Cabinet, and no fire must be made in the room appropriated for the Librarian until the wood work of the fire place is taken away or covered at least half way up with tin or sheet iron, and the floor adjoining the hearth covered at least four feet each way where the hearth projects, with tin or sheet lead, after which a stove should be used, placed back from the hearth. No fire or lights to be used after sunset. Too much care cannot be taken as it respects fire."

A recent study of the social customs of New England during the early part of the nineteenth century, made by a guest from Vassar College, again shows the advantage of our inclusive collections. Furthermore it emphasizes our indebtedness to such wise librarians as Samuel Jennison, William Lincoln and Christopher C. Baldwin. Fortunately they kept not only the replies to Cattle-Show ball and other invitations, but left vivid descriptions of the good times they enjoyed. An invitation of eighty-six years ago follows:

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX		XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Miss Belsey Waldo,		
IS INVITED TO ATTEND A BALL, ON		
THURSDAY EVENING NEXT, at WHEEL-		
ER'S HALL.		
* * Dancing to commence at 7 o'clock.		
O. FISKE,	} Managers.	
L. LINCOLN, jr.		
R. NEWTON,		
E. D. BANGS,		
Worcester, 9th April, 1813.		
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX		XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

A second specimen is given as being of peculiar interest at the present time :

CELEBRATION OF PEACE.



THE Company of

Mrs. Paine

is requested, at WHEELER'S HALL, on
THURSDAY next, at 6 o'Clock, P. M.

WILLIAM STEDMAN,	}	Managers.
LEVI LINCOLN, jun.		
JOHN W. LINCOLN,		
SAMUEL JENNISON, jun.		
GARDNER BURBANK,		
SILAS BROOKS,		

Worcester, Feb. 28, 1815.

The book of Accessions furnishes the following library statistics : Number of givers, three hundred and twenty-three ; *viz.* thirty-four members, one hundred and forty-five persons not members and one hundred and forty-four societies and institutions. We have received therefrom five hundred and seventeen books, forty-one hundred and nineteen pamphlets, two bound and one hundred and eleven unbound volumes of newspapers, fifteen photographs, three proclamations, two broadsides, one manuscript, a medal and one coin. By exchange, fifty-four books and one hundred and twenty-four pamphlets ; and from the bindery, forty-six volumes of newspapers and six

of magazines ; making a total of five hundred and seventy-seven books, forty-two hundred and forty-three pamphlets, forty-eight bound and one hundred and eleven volumes of unbound newspapers, *etc.* We acknowledge to Hon. George F. Hoar and Charles Francis Adams, LL.D., their important papers on the duty of the nation in the recent critical state of affairs. They once more remind us of a present opportunity. It will be an easy matter at a later period to secure the larger works upon our war with Spain, its causes, lessons and results. But the ephemeral literature in monograph, magazine and newspaper form should be secured at once or it will be difficult to obtain. To this end—as in the Civil War period so now—I bespeak the aid of our members and friends in a special effort to place within our walls the history of the short but decisive war of 1898.

The George E. Ellis fund has provided important biographical and bibliographical works ; the Benjamin F. Thomas fund valuable local histories ; and the George Chandler fund has enriched our alcove of genealogy. The Isaac and Edward L. Davis fund has secured for us—in a foreign market—desirable material relating to Cuba and Porto Rico as well as to the South American countries. A few authorities on the Philippines were included in the order.

The latest gift from our associate the Duc de Loubat is "Clave General de Jeroglificos Americanos de Don Ignacio Borunda." This important work on American hieroglyphs, recently discovered and published by Dr. Loubat, contains an introductory chapter by him. Mr. Charles P. Bowditch has presented his Pickering Genealogy of 1887, and the elaborate work in three volumes royal quarto on the same family brought out by him and Mr. Harrison Ellery, in 1897.

Our associate Mr. Andrew McF. Davis sends not only a collection of his own monographs, but the remainder of

the edition of one of the most noteworthy of them. Such remainders are of special value to a Society which has learned that valuable historical material may wisely be held for a rise in its market value as well as for purposes of exchange. President Daniel C. Gilman and Dr. Daniel G. Brinton always recognize their membership by placing upon our shelves, as soon as issued, the printed results of their studies; and Judge William T. Forbes manifests his interest by sending an important biographical work—properly vouched for—which contains the personal biographical material so much desired.

Mr. Charles W. Wilson of Worcester,—a soldier of the war for the preservation of the Union,—has placed in our keeping a family letter written in the field during our War for Independence. It is addressed "To | Capt. Ebenezer Holbrook | at Pomfret | in New England | pr Henry Morriss | Post," and is here given as a sample of the soldiers' letters of the period:

Camp Burdetts Ferry Sep^r 1st 1776

this place is about 12 miles up North River from New York—on the Jersey Side.

Hon^rd Parents I Take this opportunity to write to you hoping these may find you and the Family in good health, though they Leave me under Some Indispotion (*sic*) of Body, my Difficulty is purging and Some Feaver, But I hope to be well again in a in a (*sic*) few Days.

we have abundance of News but it is So much Confounded that I Know not what to Say. But this is true that part of our Army that went onto Long Island are Returned to new York with Considerable Loss on our Side & a greater on the Side of our Enemy as we hear, But as to any Certain Number on Either Side, we have heard that several of the head officers on the side of the ministerial party have fell in Battle how that is we Cannot Certainly Know. on our part we Know not of any in particular. it Said that Lord Sterling of New York fell in Battle. a Small Island a Little to the Southward of New York City Called

Governors Island is Taken from us and we have Lost Some Cannon and other Warlike Stores.

our People are in high Spirits although things at present Bear a Dark aspect on our Side, we have hope in him who Rules all things in Infinite Mercy and for the Best good of those that Trust in him. So no more at present but I Remain your Dutiful Son EBENEZER HOLBROOK Jun^r

P. S. S^r as I Wrote for Your Son I ask^d his Consent to Infor my Parents of my Health which I Enjoy in as Great a Degree as Ever Hoping they are under the Same Inestimable Blessing Remember me to Brother Samuel & Sister and Tell him to Write to me and Let me Know how he Does & the Health of my Ever honr^d parents I being in hast Conclude and Subscribe my Self Your Friend & Humble Serv^t JOHN DRESSER.

Mrs. William L. Chase has presented a file of *The American Mechanic* for the past twenty-one years, and Mrs. Henry Clarke historical material gathered by her father, the Hon. Alfred Dwight Foster, formerly Councillor, Treasurer and Member of the Committee of Publication of the Society. The gifts of Messrs. Edward Deacon, William L. Elkins and Warren Hapgood to the department of family history are the more gratefully received since the material for the genealogies of their respective families was not to any great extent obtained in our library.

Mr. Charles A. Hoppin, Jr., has strengthened our collection of amateur newspapers, to which reference was made in the librarian's report of April, 1897. The additions are from States far and near, cover a period of more than twenty years, and are many of them complete files.

We have received from The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, Volume III. of their exhaustive History by Roberts. This volume—which like the previous ones is received for service rendered—covers the period from 1822 to 1865 and contains illustrations of great value and interest.

Special mention is made of the gift of the reports of the Intercontinental Railway Commission, which has been received from them and placed in the Davis Spanish American alcove. The four volumes of text are fully illustrated by the best modern processes, and the three volumes of tables, maps and profiles add greatly to their value. It is perhaps the most elaborate American work of its class since the government reports on the Pacific Railroad survey of 1853-54.

I note the receipt of two Bibles containing brief manuscript entries under "Family Record." 1. A quarto "Imprinted at London by ROBERT BARKER | Printer to the King's Most Excellent | Maiestie: And by the Assignes | of John Bill Anno Dom. 1638." Therein may be found a fruitful record of the birth of five children of Edward and Elizabeth NEWMAN in the years 1721, 1722, 1723, 1725 and 1726. There also appears the following entry by Hon. Ledyard Bill of Paxton, Massachusetts: "Note. This Bible was published by my ancestor John Bill as per Title page in New Test." 2. A royal quarto, printed and published by Mathew Carey at Philadelphia in 1811, which contains three WHITNEY entries, the earliest of which is 1760.

While many of the valuable government publications have come to us direct from the various departments, the greater portion of them have reached us through Mr. L. P. Ferrell, Superintendent of Documents.

It may be well to note the fact that the Society has not only received our government publications since December, 1814, but that it has done much in return for these favors of so many years. We need only mention the direct literary contributions—in archaeological and historical lines—through such distinguished members as Peter Force, Samuel Foster Haven and Increase Allen Lapham; and the important aid in the upbuilding of the National, the Surgeon-General's Office and the War Department libra-

ries. The first-named library was greatly strengthened by the addition, from our duplicate room, of early files of American newspapers; while many of the government publications sent to the Capitol for redistribution remained there to assist in completing sets of their own department reports. In this connection, and that the fact of the Society's good intention may appear in its printed proceedings, I submit from the Council Records of August 30, 1840, the following: "Voted to subscribe the sum of \$250.00 towards the expense of preparing a work entitled *Bibliographia Americana* by Henry Stevens, to be paid according to the terms of Mr. Stevens's Prospectus; when the work shall be completed and accepted for publication by the Smithsonian Institution."

We have had an unusual number of calls for our duplicate material needed by the various departments at Washington and elsewhere. The same may be said of information desired by newly born or recently revived historical societies throughout the land. It has been taken for granted that our long experience would be useful to the latter, and our duplicate accumulations of many years, to the former. It is always a pleasure to answer such appeals and also to certify that such service is recognized as something more than its own reward.

A librarian of to-day remarks that "Books are neither card racks, crumb baskets nor receptacles for dead leaves." The suggestion appears to be a modern need; for the great collections which our founder and his contemporaries gathered in Antiquarian Hall are happily free from such intruders. It is quite possible that greater respect was shown our friends, the books, when they were less numerous.

Your librarian desires to place on record his appreciation of the service rendered by the late Hon. John Russell Young in successfully organizing and carrying forward—in our new National Library building—the great work committed to his charge. Without doubt "He showed

clearly a disposition to adjust matters to the modern view, to appoint efficient subordinates, and to make the library perform the great function for which its best friends believe it was destined." It once more appears that the personality and executive power of such a head are always important factors in ventures of such magnitude. We may hope that the President's appointment of Mr. Herbert Putnam—a librarian of experience and executive ability—as Mr. Young's successor will meet the approval of the Senate as it certainly does the approval of his fellow-librarians.

I submit in print—by request—a brief list of the Laws, By-Laws, Rules, *etc.*, under which this honored Society has been so wisely and steadily governed since its birth eighty-six and a half years ago :

1. In the Account of the Society published in 1813.
2. The first revision of the Laws and By-Laws, pp. 8, published in 1815.
3. The same reprinted in An Address to Members, pp. 9-16, in 1879.
4. Again reprinted in our *Archæologia Americana*, vol. I., pp. 51-59, in 1820.
5. An evident revision, though not so stated in the text, pp. 7, 18mo.—which has been long out of print—published in 1831. It appears from the Records of the Council that: "At the house of Rev. Dr. Bancroft Oct. 15, 1831, the Committee appointed at the last meeting of the Council, to wit Isaac Goodwin and William Lincoln, to revise and report a new code of By Laws, made report of a Code of Laws which was adopted and directed to be laid before the Society at their annual meeting to be held in Boston on the 24th inst."
6. The exhaustive and instructive report of Hon. P. Emory Aldrich for the Council, appears on pp. 453-458 of the first volume of the new series of the Proceedings.

The new By-Laws—which are based upon the By-Laws of 1831—just fifty years before—and the Rules and Regulations of the Library which follow on pp. 459-465 were reprinted the same year—in 1881.

7. The By-Laws adopted at a meeting of the Society October 21, 1889, with the Rules and Regulations adopted by the Council and the Library Committee for the Government of the Library. These were not printed in the Proceedings but in a separate pamphlet of seven pages without imprint. The edition was, however, supplied in ink with the date of publication, which was 1892. There are several sets of our Proceedings which lack only numbers 11 and 13 of Mr. Paine's list of 1883. The text of the latter appears in my report of April, 1898; and that of the former herein, that ready reference may be made thereto :

"BY-LAWS | OF THE | AMERICAN ANTIQUA-
RIAN SOCIETY | 24th. October, 1831. | *Article 1.*—
Officers. | A President, Two Vice Presidents, Recording
Secretary, a Secretary for Foreign and a Secretary for
Domestic Correspondence, and Treasurer, who shall be
Members, *ex officio*, of the Council, and Ten Counsellors,
and also a Committee of Publication, shall be elected at
the Annual Meeting in October, to hold their offices during
a year and until successors shall be elected. ARTICLE
II.—*President and Vice Presidents.* The President shall
preside in the meetings of the Society and Council, and see
that the duties of the several officers are faithfully per-
formed, and the Laws executed. In the absence of the
President, the Vice Presidents shall perform his duties.
ARTICLE III.—*Secretaries.* The Recording Secretary
shall keep a fair Record of the doings of the Society and
Council, to be deposited, when not in use, with all papers
of his department, in the building of the Society. He
shall give notice of each stated meeting of the Society, by
publishing the same in such newspapers in Boston and
Worcester as the Council shall direct. But neglect to give
such notice shall not prevent a stated meeting, or annul its
proceedings. All letters received and copies of those

written by the Corresponding Secretaries, shall be preserved, and communicated by them to the Society.

ARTICLE IV.—*Treasurer.* The Treasurer shall receive and keep the funds of the Society and all Books and Papers relating thereto, and shall manage and invest the funds, under the direction of the Council. He shall keep accurate accounts of the same, and of all receipts and payments, subject at all times to the inspection of the Officers, and shall present a copy thereof to the Council at the meetings next previous to the stated meetings of the Society. He shall give sufficient bonds for the faithful performance of the duties of his office, and shall receive such compensation as the Council shall fix.

ARTICLE V.—*Of the Council.* The Council shall hold stated meetings in Worcester on the last Wednesday of October, January, April and July, at 7 o'clock P. M. Special meetings may be called by the Secretary under the direction of the President or a Vice President, upon written notice to each member. At a special meeting, a majority of the whole board shall constitute a Quorum but, at the stated meetings, five members only shall be necessary for that purpose. The Council shall have the general superintendence of all the property and concerns of the Society, and may take, release or transfer securities for any portion of the funds. They may make disbursements for the current expenses and other objects of the Society, to an amount not exceeding the annual income. Twice, at least, in every year, they shall carefully examine the Library, Cabinet and other property, and make report to the Society, of the state of the funds and amount of investment. They may appoint a Librarian and such other Subordinate Officers and Agents as they may judge necessary, allow to them reasonable compensation, and prescribe such duties to them as they shall think proper, not inconsistent with the laws of the Society. They shall at each stated meeting of the Society, make a report of all their doings, which shall then be subject to the control of the Society.

ARTICLE VI.—*Meetings.* Two stated meetings of the Society shall be held each year, one at _____ in Worcester, on the 23d day of October, and when the same falls on Sunday, the meeting shall be on the Monday following; and one at _____ in Boston on the last

Wednesday of May. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Secretary, under the direction of a President or Vice President upon notice published in the newspapers. The Society shall not at any meeting proceed to business unless five at least of the Council shall be present, but the Secretary may adjourn from time to time until such quorum shall attend. At each stated meeting, the Secretaries and Council shall report their respective doings since the last meeting. ARTICLE VII.—*Members*. The American members of the Society shall at no time exceed One Hundred and Forty. No person shall be admitted a member, unless he shall have been nominated one month in the Council, and be recommended afterwards by that board; nor shall any member be admitted unless at a stated meeting of the Society, and three fourths of the ballots of the members present are in his favor. ARTICLE VIII.—*Of the Library and Librarian*. A Librarian and Cabinet Keeper shall be annually appointed by the Council, to be subject to their direction, and removable by them for misconduct. ARTICLE IX.—*Amendments*. No new law or alteration of a standing law shall hereafter be made, until recommended by the Council and adopted by the Society at a stated meeting. ARTICLE X. All former Laws and Votes of the Society, are so far repealed, as they may be inconsistent with the foregoing Laws.

The Librarian and Cabinet Keeper shall give bonds for the faithful discharge of his duties. He shall have the care of the Library and Cabinet, paying particular attention to security from fire, and shall be accountable for any loss or injury happening from his negligence. He shall register from time to time every book and article purchased or presented, with the donor's name, when given, the value when it can be ascertained, and a brief description. He shall number and mark each volume with the name of the Society, and donor when presented and attach to each article in the Cabinet an appropriate label. He shall arrange the Books, Tracts, Newspapers and Manuscripts of the Society, and the articles of the Cabinet in scientific method, and keep the rooms in neat and good order. He shall prepare, as soon as is practicable, and keep in the Library Room, an accurate descriptive Catalogue of the whole Library and Cabinet; deliver a Copy to

the Treasurer—enter all additions as they are made on the Catalogue and annually on the Copy; and make report thereof at each stated meeting of the Council. On the Catalogue and Copy there shall be a distinct reference to the apartment and case containing the several Tracts and Books therein described. He shall afford such assistance to the Secretaries and such information to other members of the Society, when requested, under the restrictions which the Council may prescribe, as can be rendered without interference with his other duties. He shall attend at the Library Room from 9 to 12 o'clock A. M. and from 2 to 5 o'clock P. M. on all days of the week, Sundays and the afternoon of Saturday excepted, for the accommodation of members, and the reception of visitors. He shall cause the names of visitors to be entered in a Book, and exhibit the same at each stated meeting of the Council. No book or article shall be removed from its place, without the consent of the Librarian, or direction of the Council. Visitors may be admitted on the formal introduction or the producing a ticket of a member of the Society. No visitor shall remain in the Library or Cabinet Rooms without permission of the Council, except in the presence of the Librarian, or an officer of the Society."

Volume XI. new series of the Proceedings is now bound and ready for members and others who prefer the Society's binding.

This is probably the last meeting of the Society in the building of the Boston Athenæum. Some notice of the different places in which the Boston meetings have been held, and an expression of gratitude to The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, our hosts for many years, will be offered by gentlemen whom the Council has designated for the purpose.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, LL.D., Lincoln.—His "Imperialism," and "The Tracks of our Forefathers"; and his "Historians and Historical Societies."
- BALDWIN, SIMEON E., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His "Modern Political Institutions."
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—"St. Andrew's Cross"; "The Church Militant"; and "Worcester's Young Men," in continuation.
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—His Pickering Genealogy of 1887; and the genealogy of the same family by Messrs. Harrison Ellery and Charles P. Bowditch, in 3 vols. royal octavo, Cambridge, 1897.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D., Media, Pa.—Ten of his own publications.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—His article on "The Neglect of History."
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—Eight of his Monographs; thirteen books; and two hundred and four pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Three books; and thirty pamphlets.
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Blake's "Chronicles of New Haven Green, 1638-1862."
- FIRTH, CHARLES H., Oxford, England.—His "Marston Moor."
- FORBES, HON. WILLIAM T., Worcester.—Rand's "Biographical Sketches of one thousand representative men of Massachusetts."
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His "Tribute to David Ames Wells."
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Five of his own publications; twenty-one books; one hundred and ninety-four pamphlets; one manuscript; two photographs; a proclamation; and the "American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His "Public Libraries of Worcester"; and his Report as Librarian of the Free Public Library, 1899.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Worcester.—"A Brief Account of the Manor and Parish Church of Green's Norton."
- HALL, REV. EDWARD H., Brookline.—His "Papias and his Contemporaries."
- HOADLEY, CHARLES J., LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—One proclamation.

HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Four of his own publications; sixty-two books; seven hundred and eighty-eight pamphlets; twelve photographs; one piece of music; and ten files of newspapers, in continuation.

LÉON, NICOLÁS, Guadalupe, Mexico.—His “*Ensayo Numismatico*.”

LOUBAT, JAMES F., LL.D., New York.—“*Clave General de Jeroglificos Americanos de Don Ignacio Borunda*,” with Dr. Loubat’s introductory letter.

LOVE, REV. WILLIAM DELOSS, JR., Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—His “*Hartford, the Keeper of Connecticut’s Charter*.”

MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—His “*What does Christian Patriotism require in view of the National Policy of Expansion?*”; two books; ninety-seven pamphlets; and “*The Nation*,” in continuation.

MORSE, EDWARD S., Salem.—His “*Was Middle America peopled from Asia?*”; and his “*Pre-Columbian Musical Instruments in America*.”

PAINE, REV. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Two portraits of the Right Honorable William E. Gladstone.

PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—His “*Literary, Scientific and Historical Societies of Worcester*”; seventeen books; five hundred and twenty-four pamphlets; three manuscripts; one photograph; and five files of newspapers, in continuation.

PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—“*The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*,” as issued.

SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Eight books; two hundred and seventy-one pamphlets; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.

THWAITES, REUBEN G., Madison, Wis.—His report for 1897 as Superintendent and Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—“*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*,” volumes 29–38.

WRIGHT, HON. CARROLL D., Washington, D. C.—His *Annual Report as Superintendent of the Department of Labor*; and the “*Labor Bulletin*,” as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ALEXANDER, DE ALVA S., Buffalo, N. Y.—His “*The Alexanders of Maine*.”

AMERICAN INVENTOR PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of “*The Age of Invention and American Inventor*.”

APPLETON AND COMPANY, DANIEL, New York.—“*The Monthly Bulletin*,” as issued.

ART COLLECTOR PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—“*The Art Collector*,” as issued.

- AVERY, ELROY**, Cleveland, Ohio.—Numbers of his "Avery Notes and Queries."
BALCH, THOMAS W., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Brooke Family of Whitchurch, Hampshire, England."
BARTON, Miss LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.
BATCHELLOR, ALBERT S., Concord, N. H.—His "Historical and Biographical Notes on Military Annals of New Hampshire."
BENZIGER BROTHERS, New York.—Numbers of "Our Boys and Girls Own."
BERRY, JOHN C., M.D., Worcester.—Worcester Directory, 1897.
BINGHAM, Hon. HARRY, Concord, N. H.—His "Annexation of Hawaii: A Right and a Duty."
BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.
BOUTELL, Hon. HENRY S., Chicago, Ill.—Tributes to Louis H. Boutell, LL.D.
BRIGHAM, CLARENCE S., Providence, R. I.—His "Brown's Record in the Revolution"; and "Brown University Bibliography."
BROWN, ALEXANDER, LL.D., Norwood, Va.—His "History of our Earliest History."
BROWN, FREEMAN, *Clerk*, Worcester.—His Annual Report of the Board of Overseers of the Poor, 1898.
BRYANT, H. WINSLOW, Portland, Me.—Ten historical pamphlets.
BUFFINGTON, ELISHA D., *Commissioner*, Worcester.—Report of the Massachusetts Commissioners on Inland Fisheries and Game, 1898.
BULLARD, HENRY N., *Editor*, Parkville, Mo.—Park College "Library Bulletin," as issued.
BURTON, CHARLES M., Detroit, Mich.—His "In the Footsteps of Cadillac."
BUSH, L. P., New Haven, Conn.—Tributes to Othniel Charles Marsh, LL.D.
CALDERHEAD, J. H., *Commissioner*, Helena, Montana.—The Sixth Annual Report of the Montana Bureau of Agriculture, Labor and Industry.
CALDWELL, Rev. AUGUSTINE, Elliot, Me.—His "The Old Ipswich Meeting House, 1747-1838"; and one pamphlet.
CANFIELD, Mrs. PENELOPE S., Worcester.—"The Army and Navy Gazette" for 1898-99, in continuation.
CARROLL, CLARENCE F., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—Report of the Worcester Schools, 1898.
CHASE, Mrs. WILLIAM L., Worcester.—Nine books; one pamphlet; "The Engineering Record," for 1893; and "The American Mechanic," 1878-1898.

- CHENOWETH, Mrs. BERNARD P., Worcester.—Her "School History of Worcester."
- CHICKERING, Prof. JOSEPH K., Brooklyn, N. Y.—Twenty pamphlets; and a collection of circulars.
- CLARKE, Mrs. HENRY, Worcester.—Twenty-seven books; and four hundred and sixteen pamphlets.
- COATES AND COMPANY, HENRY T., Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of "The Literary Era."
- CONANT, LEVI L., Ph.D., Worcester.—The Fiftieth Anniversary medal and badge of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.
- COREY, DELORAINE P., Malden.—His "Joseph Hills and the Massachusetts Laws of 1648."
- CORNISH, LOUIS H., New York.—"The Spirit of '76," as issued.
- CRANE, JOHN C., Millbury.—His "The Nipmucks and their Country."
- CRAWFORD, Lord, Wigan, England.—"Biblioteca Lindesiana: Catalogue of English Broad-sides, 1505-1897."
- CRAWFORD, Rev. SIDNEY, Rutland.—His "Rufus Putnam and his Pioneer Life in the Northwest."
- CRITIC COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Critic."
- CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—His "Co-operative Banking."
- DAVIS, Mrs. ELNATHAN, Worcester.—Six photographic portraits.
- DAWSON, SAMUEL E., Lit.D., Ottawa, Canada.—His "The Voyages of the Cabots: Latest Phases of the Controversy."
- DEACON, EDWARD, Bridgeport, Conn.—His "Descent of the Family of Deacon, and Allied Families."
- DE MENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—Numbers of "The Hesperian."
- DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Bookman."
- DODGE, REUBEN R., Sutton.—His "Record of Inscriptions in the Cemeteries of Sutton, Mass. "; and a Tribute to Lydia H. Dodge.
- DODGE, Hon. RUFUS B., Jr., Worcester.—His Inaugural Address, January 3, 1898.
- DOE, CHARLES H., Worcester.—Thirteen pamphlets relating to the Currency.
- DOLE, NATHAN H., *Editor*, Boston.—Numbers of "Book Culture."
- DRAPER, JAMES, *Secretary*, Worcester.—The Annual Report of the Park Commissioners of the City of Worcester, 1898.
- DRURY, FRANK H., Chicago, Ill.—One pamphlet.
- DRYSEN AND PFEIFFER, New York.—A tribute to Philipp J. J. Valentini.
- ELKINS, WILLIAM L., Philadelphia, Pa.—Leach's "Genealogical and Biographical Memorials of the Reading, Howell, Yerkes, Watts, Latham and Elkins Families."

- FENTON METALLIC MANUFACTURING COMPANY, Jamestown, N. Y.—“Public Records and their Preservation”; and “A Souvenir of the American Library Conference of 1898.”
- FOWLER, HON. CHARLES N., Elizabeth, N. J.—His address in the House of Representatives, March 31, 1897.
- GATSCHET, ALBERT S., Ph.D., Washington, D. C.—Ten of his publications on linguistics.
- GAZETTE COMPANY.—The “Worcester Evening Gazette,” as issued.
- GINN AND COMPANY, Boston.—Numbers of their Bulletin.
- GOLDEN RULE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—“The Christian Endeavor World,” as issued.
- GOODWIN, EDWARD R., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- GREENLAW, MRS. LUCY G., Cambridge.—Numbers of the “Genealogical Advertiser” and one pamphlet.
- GREGSON, REV. JOHN, Wiscasset, Me.—Two pamphlets.
- HAMILTON, MORRIS R., Trenton, N. J.—His Report as State Librarian, 1898.
- HAPGOOD, WARREN, Boston.—His “The Hapgood Family, descendants of Shadrach, 1656-1898.”
- HARLOW, FREDERICK B., Worcester.—Three Scandinavian circulars.
- HARPER AND BROTHERS, New York.—Numbers of “Literature.”
- HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Two of his book-plates.
- HILL, MISS FRANCES A., Worcester.—Hazlett’s “Eloquence of the British Senate.”
- HILLS, WILLIAM S., Boston.—“Joseph Hills and the Laws of 1648.”
- HOPPIN, CHARLES A., Jr., Worcester.—A collection of amateur newspapers, 1874-1896.
- HOPPIN, MRS. GEORGE S., Worcester.—A facsimile of the “Ulster County Gazette,” for January 4, 1800.
- HUBBARD, OLIVER P., New York.—His “Dwight *et al.* vs. Prof. McMaster”; and his “Biographical Sketches of the Class of 1828 in Yale College, and College Memorabilia.”
- INGALLS, MAJOR, JAMES M., U. S. A.—Catalogue of his professional works and papers.
- INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY COMMISSION.—A set of the Reports of the Commission.
- JOHNSON, B. F., Richmond, Va.—Lee’s “Brief History of the United States.”
- JONES, REV. HENRY L., S.T.D., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.—His Hospital Sunday Sermon, 1898.
- KELLOGG, J. H., M.D., Battle Creek, Mich.—Numbers of “Good Health.”

- LANE, WILLIAM C., Cambridge.—His first report as Librarian of Harvard University.
- LARNED, Prof. CHARLES W., West Point, N. Y.—His "History of Battle Monument at West Point."
- LE CLAIRE, ALPHONSE, Montreal, P. Q.—*La Revue Canadienne*, for 1898.
- LIBRARY SUPPLY COMPANY, London, England.—Numbers of "The Library World."
- LINCOLN, Mrs. SARAH, West Boylston.—Eighteen books; two hundred and twenty-one pamphlets; and seven volumes of newspapers.
- LIPPINCOTT, J. B., COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Their Bulletin, as issued.
- LOST CAUSE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Louisville, Ky.—Numbers of "The Lost Cause."
- LOWDERMILK, WILLIAM H., AND COMPANY, Washington, D. C.—"The Washington Book Chronicle," as issued.
- MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, New York.—Their "Book Review," as issued.
- MCALDER, GEORGE, M.D., Worcester.—His "Thanksgiving in the Woods."
- MARSHALL, PERCIVAL, *Editor*, London, England.—Numbers of "The Model Engineer and Amateur Electrician."
- MASON, ROSWELL B., Chicago, Ill.—Tributes to Edward G. Mason, LL.D.
- MAYBERRY, SAMUEL P., Knightville, Me.—His article on "Early Florida Missions."
- MEESE, J. W., AND COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of their "Modern Tourist and Illustrator."
- MESSENGER COMPANY, Worcester.—"The Messenger," as issued.
- MORRIS AND WILSON, Minneapolis, Minn.—Numbers of "The Cumulative Book Index."
- MURRAY, THOMAS H., Washington, D. C.—His "Irish School-Master in the American Colonies, 1640-1775."
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.
- NICKEL MAGAZINE COMPANY, Boston.—Numbers of the Nickel.
- NOYES, JAMES A., Boston.—His "Noyes Pedigree."
- OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of "The Open Court."
- PALMER AND LANGDON, New York.—Numbers of "The Aluminum World."
- PEABODY, CHARLES A., M.D., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—The Twenty-elghth Annual Report of the City Hospital of Worcester.

- PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, Mexico, Mex.—Four of his statistical reports.
- PIETTE, EDOUARD, Rumigny, France.—“*Études d' Ethnographie Préhistorique.*”
- POMEROY, JAMES E., *Editor*, Worcester.—His “Fair Record,” for September, 1898.
- PUTNAM, EBEN, Salem.—Numbers of his “Historical Magazine.”
- PUTNAM, HARRINGTON, Brooklyn, N. Y.—His “Origin of Breuckelen.”
- REED, GEORGE B., Boston.—Additions to Gilman's “Bibliography of Vermont.”
- RICE, FRANKLIN P., Worcester.—“Systematic History—The Worcester Records.”
- RICE, GEORGE M., Worcester.—“Centennial of the Bulfinch State House.”
- RICE, MRS. WILLIAM W., Worcester.—One hundred numbers of American Periodicals; and “Public Opinion,” Volumes 14-20.
- RICH, MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—“The Portland Board of Trade Journal,” as issued.
- RICHARDSON, WILLIAM A., ESTATE OF.—“Sketch of the Life and Public Services of William A. Richardson.”
- ROBINSON, MISS MARY, Worcester.—Files of three magazines, in continuation.
- ROE, HON. ALFRED S., Worcester.—His “Massachusetts State House: Sketch of its History” and two pamphlets.
- ROGERS, CHARLES E., Barre.—The “Barre Gazette,” as issued.
- ROY, J. ARTHUR, ET FILS, Worcester.—Their “Le Worcester Canadien Directoire,” Vol. 13.
- RUSSELL, FRANK, Cambridge.—His “Explorations in the Far North.”
- SARGENT, MISS MARY F., Worcester.—Seven books; one hundred and forty-three pamphlets; and six volumes of newspapers.
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY.—“The Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel,” as issued.
- SHIPLEY, MRS. JOHN B., Chexbres, Switzerland.—Her “Norse Colonization in America: By the Light of the Vatican Finds.”
- SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—“The Worcester Daily Spy”; and “The Massachusetts Spy,” as issued.
- STAPLES, SAMUEL E., Worcester.—His “Hymn of Praise.”
- STODDARD, MRS. ELIJAH B., Worcester.—The works of Mrs. Sherwood, in 15 volumes.
- SWAN, ROBERT T., *Commissioner*, Boston.—The Eleventh Report on Massachusetts Public Records.
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY.—“The Worcester Daily Telegram,” Vol. XIII.; and “Sunday Telegram,” Vol. XIV.

- TOLMAN, GEORGE, Concord.—A United States Cent of 1803.
- TRASK, WILLIAM B., Boston.—His "Memoir of Capt. William Trask of Salem, Mass., 1628-1666."
- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—His "Groton Landmark," as issued.
- VINTON, REV. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.
- VOCKE, WILLIAM, Chicago, Ill.—His "Relations of the People of the United States to the English and Germans."
- WALKER, HON. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—His Speech, February 14, 1899, on Banking and Currency Problems.
- WALL, MISS SARAH E., Worcester.—Twelve numbers of magazines.
- WARREN, REV. ALBERT, Leicester.—Seventy-five books; two hundred and eighty pamphlets; and a collection of early newspapers.
- WARREN, WILLIAM F., LL.D., *President*, Boston.—The First Quarter Centennial of Boston University, containing his historical address.
- WARRINGTON, JAMES, Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Short Titles of Books relating to or illustrating the History and Practice of Psalmody in the United States, 1620-1820."
- WASHBURN, HON. CHARLES G., Worcester.—His "Memorial of Albert Curtis"; and his "Sketch of the Development of the Manufacturing Industries of Worcester."
- WEBSTER, CLEMENT L., Charles City, Iowa.—"Iowa Devonian Fossils."
- WHITCOMB, MISS MARY G., Worcester.—Six pamphlets; and a file of "The Utah Eagle," for 1898.
- WHITE BROTHERS, Winchendon.—An historical review of the Cotton Industry of Winchendon.
- WHITE, MRS. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—"The Journal of Zoöphily," as issued.
- WHITTEN, REV. WILLIAM W., *Secretary*, Chariton, Iowa.—Diocesan Journal of Iowa, 1898.
- WILLARD, MISS ABBY G., Colchester, Conn.—One hundred and eighty numbers of American magazines.
- WILSON, CHARLES W., Worcester.—War Letter to Capt. Ebenezer Holbrook, dated September 15, 1776.
- WIRE, GEORGE E., M.D., Worcester.—His First Report as Deputy Librarian of the Worcester County Law Library; and twenty-one pamphlets.
- WORCESTER RECORDER COMPANY.—"The Worcester Recorder," as issued.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.

- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—“The Baptist Missionary Magazine,” as issued.
- AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The Eighty-eighth Annual Report.
- AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION.—“The Forester,” as issued.
- AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Annual Report of 1897.
- AMERICAN NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society at the Fortieth Annual Meeting.
- AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN SEAMEN’S FRIEND SOCIETY.—“The Sailor’s Magazine,” as issued.
- ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—Roberts’s History of the Company, Vol. III., 1822–1865.
- ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The Annual Catalogue for 1898–1899.
- BENNINGTON MONUMENT AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Dedication of the Bennington Battle Monument, *etc.*
- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—The “Statement of Mortality,” as issued.
- BOSTON BOARD OF RECORD COMMISSIONERS.—The Twenty-eighth Annual Report.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Publications of the Library, as issued.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE LIBRARY.—Publications of the College, as issued.
- BOYLSTON, TOWN OF.—Reports of the town, 1899.
- BROOKLINE HISTORICAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—“The Library Bulletin,” as issued.
- BUFFALO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Second Annual Report.
- BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings, June 17, 1898.
- BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.—“The Monthly Bulletin,” as issued.
- CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

- CANADIAN LITERARY SOCIETY.**—*Subjects of "The Canadian Anti-Unionism."*
- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.**—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- CANADIAN MINERALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CHILDREN'S + FRIEND SOCIETY, WILMINGTON.**—*The Fitchburg Annual Report.*
- CONNECTICUT PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—Library publications, as issued.
- CLUB OF OLD VALMONT.**—*Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Book-Presses and Super Libros, held by the Club of Old Valmont.*
- COLGATE UNIVERSITY.**—*Annual Catalogue for 1894-1895.*
- COLLEGE CHALLENGE.**—Publications of the College, as issued.
- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.**—*"The Political Science Quarterly,"* as issued.
- CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.**—Five volumes of Connecticut State documents.
- CORNELL UNIVERSITY.**—*"The Ten Year Book. III. 1892-1893."*
- DAYTON PUBLIC LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.**—*Annual Report for 1898.*
- DEERMAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—*The Library Report for 1898.*
- INDEPENDENT OF COLUMBIA SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS.**—Two of the Society's publications.
- INDEPENDENT OF COLUMBIA SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF THE REVOLUTION.**—*The Year Book for 1898.*
- ELMST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- ESCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY, Baltimore, Md.**—*The Thirteenth Annual Report.*
- EMERY INSTITUTE.**—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- FAIRMOUNT PARK ART ASSOCIATION, Philadelphia, Pa.**—*The Twenty-seventh Annual Report.*
- FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM, Chicago, Ill.**—*The Publications of the Museum, as issued.*
- FITCHBURG, CITY OF.**—*"The Old Records of the Town of Fitchburgh, Mass., 1764-1789," Vol. I.*
- FORBES LIBRARY, Northampton.**—*The Fourth Annual Report.*
- GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA.**—*The Report for 1896.*
- HARTFORD BOARD OF TRADE.**—*The Eleventh Annual Report.*
- HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.**—*The Register, as issued.*
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY.**—*Annual Report, 1897-98; and the University Catalogue, 1898-99.*
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- IOWA HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT.**—*"Annals of Iowa,"* as issued.

JERSEY CITY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Eighth Annual Report; and The Library Record, as issued.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

LAKE MOHONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.—The Fourth Annual Report.

LELAND STANFORD, JR., UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.—Report of the Librarian, 1898.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

LYNN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Register for 1897.

MAINE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Minutes for the year 1898.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—History of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment of Volunteers, War of 1861-65; fourteen State documents; and one proclamation.

MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR THE FEEBLE MINDED.—The Fifty-first Annual Report.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—The Annual Report; and the "Weekly Bulletin," as issued.

MILLBURY, TOWN OF.—The Annual Reports of 1899.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued; and "History of Company E., 6th Minnesota Regiment of Volunteer Infantry."

MUSKO NACIONAL DE MEXICO.—Anales, 1898 and 1899.

NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF FLORENCE.—The Library publications, as issued.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S RELIEF CORPS.—Journal of the Convention of 1898.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Blake's "Chronicles of New Haven Green, 1638-1862"; and one pamphlet.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Sever's - *Memoir of William Kelly.*"

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.—"The Library Bulletin," as issued.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—The Publications of the Library, as issued.

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CERTAIN ADDITIONAL NOTES TOUCHING UPON THE
SUBJECTS OF IGNOMINIOUS PUNISHMENTS
AND OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
CURRENCY.

BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

I DESIRE to call the attention of the Society to certain references bearing upon topics, concerning which I have already made communications, which have been published in our Proceedings; my object being simply to secure mention of them in the index for the benefit of future investigators. Those of you who were sufficiently interested in the subject of ignominious punishments, which formed a part of the matter treated in my paper read at the April meeting, 1895, will remember that in my search in England for the penal use of permanent labels attached to criminals, my investigation was mainly confined to the statute books, to treatises upon criminal and ecclesiastical law, and to kindred works. These seemed to me the most natural places to look for knowledge upon this topic, and the amount of information obtained, perhaps justified this conclusion. The examination, however, of a single poem, "Butler's Hudibras," brought to light so many references to punishments by the temporary affixing of labels and the permanent marking of convicted criminals through stigmatizing, branding, or maiming, that it ought perhaps to have suggested the possibility that the customs of the times in this respect might be further illustrated through the literature of the day. In a topical investigation, an extended examination of all contemporary literature is, of course, practically impossible, but there are students whose

researches for other purposes carry their work into this field, and the idea may naturally occur that knowledge upon these points may be secured through co-operation on the part of such special students. Macaulay has shown us that the most unexpected information upon the manners and customs of the people is to be found in the contemporary drama. The value of knowledge of this sort, derived from the playwrights of a period, is obvious at a glance. To be effective upon the stage, allusions or references must be confined to matters which an audience can readily comprehend and with which it is familiar. Hence, whatever we find in a play bearing upon a particular custom, may be accepted as having already become so thoroughly established that everybody is supposed to know about it. It does not necessarily follow that this public knowledge implies antiquity. The custom may be new, but still it is a custom the knowledge of which is within the reach of all. These thoughts have been suggested to me through meeting with a reference to paper labels in one of Shakespeare's plays, which has some historic value, since it carries familiarity with that method of punishment back to the original publication of the quarto upon which the play is based, thus adding a few years to the life of the custom so far as it was disclosed in my previous paper. The play in question is the second part of Henry the Sixth. Reading it after the publication of my communication, while the subject was still fresh in my mind, the meaning of the allusion to "papers" in the speech of the Duchess of Gloster, in which she describes her own punishment and warns the Duke what was in store for him, was obvious. The speech is to be found in Act II., Scene IV., and the paragraph which touches upon this subject in lines 30, 31 :

"Methinks I should not thus be led along,
Mall'd up in shame, with papers on my back,"
* * * *

Singularly enough the same play contains an allusion to branding. This occurs in Act IV., Scene II., in which Jack Cade and his followers appear. Dick the butcher, lines 57 and 58, says: "But methinks he should stand in fear of fire, being burnt i' the hand for stealing of sheep."

The second part of Henry the Sixth is said to have been first printed under that title in its present form in the folio of 1623. I have said that knowledge of these customs is carried back through this play to the quarto upon which the play is based. This was published in 1594, under title of "The first part of the Contention between the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster, &c., &c." In this quarto the following instructions are given in the eighth scene: "Enter Dame Elnor Cobham bare-foote, and a white sheete about her, with a wax-candle in her hand, and verses written on her backe and pind on * * * " The reference to the papers in the speech corresponding with the one already quoted, is to be found in the same scene, in lines 31 and 32, and is as follows:

" And thus with burning Tapor in my hand,
Made up in shame with papers on my backe."

The speech of Dick the butcher is to be found in the 38th and 39th lines of Scene XIII.: "Dicke—But me thinkes he should feare the fire, being so often burnt in the hand for stealing of sheepe."

The discovery in Henry the Sixth of these allusions to ignominious punishment, turned my thoughts towards the possibility of securing co-operation in the development of the subject, such as I have already suggested, from students in this field of literature. Professor George Lyman Kittredge, of Harvard University, had already indicated his interest by sending me the title of a French publication devoted to the discussion of the means employed in the middle ages to mark criminals, through conspicuous features in their costume or by the cutting of

their hair, in a somewhat similar manner to the methods practised in our prisons to-day. This treatise dealt also with forms of ignominious punishment, and amongst them mention was made of the exposure of a criminal in Pamiers, in Southern France, in 1322, with a letter on his breast.¹

Professor Kittredge readily acquiesced in my suggestion that he should keep an eye out for allusions to this subject, and quite recently sent me the following reference :

"This day I rode to the Yeld Hall² to sitt in the Commission for strangers, and in the lower end of the Cheape-side towards Poole's, there stood a man and a woman, both aged persons, upon a skafold, with papers upon their heades." The writer then goes on to describe the crime for which this punishment was meted out. The man, it appears, was the keeper of the conduit and both he and the woman had bathed therein and otherwise polluted its waters.³

These instances sufficiently indicate the help that can be gained by sustained effort in this direction. The origin and development of these customs can only be ascertained by the process of accumulating references of this kind.

I take advantage of this opportunity to bring to the notice of the Society an omission in my former paper, to which my attention was called by Mr. William P. Upham. The stern and unrelenting character of the Magistrates of the Colony in its early days comes out with such prominence in an investigation devoted to the methods of enforcement of criminal law, that it would be a pity to pass by in silence a conspicuous instance of the sympathy of some of them with the modern notion as to the humiliat-

¹ *Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France. Tome Quarante-Neuvième. Les signes d'infamie au moyen age, par M. Ulysse Robert.*

² Obviously the Guildhall.

³ Recorder Fletewode to Lord Burghley, 1592—*Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a series of original letters selected from inedited private correspondence, &c., &c.* Edited by Thomas Wright, London, 1838. Vol. II., p. 418.

ing tendency of ignominious punishments. I wish, therefore, to acknowledge my obligation to Mr. Upham for calling my attention to the fact that Winthrop distinctly states that the Magistrates were not unanimous in their approval of punishment by exposure, the reason given by them being "lest thy brother should seem despised in thine eyes."¹

A word may perhaps be said to advantage concerning the statute of 1646 for the punishment of those who should disturb congregational service or otherwise act so as to bring religion or the ministers into contempt. The label to be affixed to the criminal under this statute was given in the paper in the terms stated in the Records of the Colony: A WANTON GOSPELLER. This statute is given in the 1660 edition of the laws of the colony in a somewhat abridged form and the label to be affixed to the criminal is there laid down in the following words: AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GODS HOLY ORDINANCES.²

The same label is repeated in the edition of 1672.³

In both of these editions the reference made by those who compiled the laws was to the statute of 1646, so that we are at a loss to know when the change was made.

In the paper on The Massachusetts Bay Currency 1690-1750, read at the October meeting, 1898, I devoted some space to the discussion of the question whether the plates prepared for the second new tenor bills in 1742, were made use of in 1744 for the third form of the new tenor bills. The premises upon which this discussion was based were in some respects slight. The only bill of the 1742 emission which I had seen was the fragment of the bill for three pence, in possession of this Society, a denomination not

¹ Winthrop's New England, vol. II., p. 250.

² Whitmore's edition of The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, reprinted from the edition of 1660, &c., &c. Boston, 1889, p. 26 of the reprint.

³ Whitmore's Edition of The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, reprinted from the edition of 1672, &c., &c. Boston, 1890, p. 45 of the reprint.

authorized in the original act. The only bills of the 1744 emission that I had seen were of denominations not authorized in the Act of Emission. Nevertheless the evidence seemed to me so convincing that I stated my conclusion on the subject to be that the Committee on Bills, in issuing the denominations not authorized in the Act of Emission had undoubtedly made use of the 1742 plates. So far as the authorized denominations were concerned there was no direct evidence upon which an opinion could be formed, but the conclusion then reached was that the omission in the Act of Emission of any instructions to the Committee to prepare plates must have been intentional. This conclusion carried with it of course the inference that no new plates were prepared for the bills of this emission. Since that time I have found in the House Journals, under dates of July 20, 1744, and November 1, 1745, instructions to the Committee to print bills from the lowest plate, showing at any rate that other denominations than those mentioned in the Act of Emission were issued by authority of the assembly. I have also recently met with the following statement bearing on this point in a note in Douglass's Summary :

"IV. By Act of Assembly a public bill of credit explicitly in its face promising only 2 oz. 13 d. 8 gr. silver, shall be equal to a bill promising 3 oz. silver; that is, in common arithmetic, 8 shall be equal to 9. V. In the same kind of impositions, used by Lewis XIV. of France, who by recoinages from time to time miniorated his money, at length finding his people reduced to insensible dupes, he saved the charge of recoinage, and uttered the same coin with only some little mark or stamp, at a further depreciated value; in June, 1744, to save the charge of new plates, we miniorated the value of emissions of November, 1741, by a few dashes upon the same plate.¹"

¹ A Summary Historical and Political, &c., &c., by William Douglass, M. D., vol. I., pp. 359, 360 note.

1899.] *Ignominious Punishments and Mass. Currency.* 73

This fully confirms the conjecture which I then hazarded, and settles one of the points which I then thought could only be determined through an inspection of specimens of the notes. The fact still remains, however, that I have not yet seen a bill of the first new tenor set, nor have I seen one of either of the denominations mentioned in the Acts of Emission of the second and third sets.¹

¹ Since the foregoing was written I have had access to the collection of bills in the Cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which contains specimens of the first and second new tenor bills.

WHAT CAUSED THE DEPORTATION OF THE ACADIANS?

BY JAMES P. BAXTER.

It seems safe to observe that all historical analyses require documentary evidence to satisfy the critical spirit of the present age. In such analyses, the imaginative faculty is not permitted to enjoy the scope which was once accorded it, and the writer who overlooks this incurs grave responsibilities. An author, however, is not to be held to too severe account for missing evidence. He may use due diligence in seeking it, and yet miss valuable matter to which access is difficult, or unknown to him; nay, it happens, that one's very familiarity with a subject sometimes renders him oblivious to an important detail close at hand; hence one should be chary in ascribing lapses of this sort to wilful oversight.

Again, it seems safe to observe, that in estimating the moral contents of an act of the past, we should take into account the difference between the standards then and now employed, as well as the social conditions and political exigencies of the time.

These reflections have been prompted by a late severe arraignment of certain historical workers, one of whom is no less than the late Francis Parkman of happy memory, who in treating of the Acadians, is accused not only of wilfully misrepresenting and distorting facts, but of maliciously suppressing evidence in their favor, in order to strengthen the case of his English forebears.¹ Little did the author of "Evangeline" realize, when he penned that

¹ *Vide Acadia*, New York, Home Book Company; Montreal, John Lovell & Son.

admirable poem, that he was creating history; and yet very many persons, probably a majority of our people, take their history of the Acadians from that poetic fiction, just as a considerable number of people take their theology from the "Paradise Lost." Such persons will be likely to listen approvingly to a writer who is in accord with them, and disapprovingly to one who presents the other side of the case; and yet, there is another side.

To approximate a reasonable understanding of all that was involved in the deportation of the Acadians, we should go back to the year 1713, that memorable year in which, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Acadia was ceded to Great Britain. The cession of Acadia was but an incident in the great struggle between principles which had been in conflict for centuries, and which had drenched battle-fields with blood. The spirit of universal dominion has always been the inspiration of the Roman Church. When the Roman Empire changed her name to the Holy Roman Empire she did not change her spirit, but as ever demanded unquestioning obedience to her power. She it was who dominated the French court, directed statesmanship and shaped diplomacy; and she it was who kept alive the fires of war in Europe and on this continent, that she might finally bring the nations to her foot-stool. Sometimes she won, sometimes she lost, but she never dreamed of giving up the contest. Rome was eternal; monarchs, nations even, temporary. She had lost now, but the animosities, racial, religious, and irreconcilable, survived, smouldering but ready to break forth whenever conditions should become favorable. The vanquished government sullenly withdrew to Isle Royale, and there set up its imperium, while the victor took possession of its prize, which it was not long permitted to enjoy in peace.

England had succeeded in removing to a distance the governmental machinery by which France had exercised control of the ceded territory, but not of the instrumen-

talities through which Rome exercised power therein ; and she, allied to France by a common interest,—the desire for dominion,—furnished an ever ready means to her ally to recoup herself as far as possible for her losses. There was peace between the two crowns, so far as ink and wax went, but no farther, for French emissaries at once began to foment trouble by inciting the savages to make war upon their English neighbors. These emissaries were Romish priests, whose pernicious efforts not only caused great suffering and loss of life to the pioneer settlers, English and French, but the final deportation of the Acadians, an act which has been held up to the world as one of unwarrantable and inexcusable cruelty. The criticism which this act has received, admitting it to have been cruel, is a distinct compliment to the English. Those who enjoy a reputation for righteousness are alone criticised for failing to conform strictly to righteous standards. France has almost escaped censure for acts far exceeding in cruelty the deportation of the Acadians, although she did not have the warrant of necessity to offer in defence of her action, which England did.

In 1689 the French monarch gave his sanction to a plot, which, had it not been defeated by English brawn, would have shocked the world for all time. This plot, carefully formulated at Versailles, was to make an initial attack upon Albany, and having captured that place, to proceed down the Hudson with two war ships to attack New York and force its surrender. Once in possession of New York, the rooting out of the heretic English colonists would be feasible. Their homes were to be broken up, and they scattered abroad. Those who possessed wealth were to be imprisoned until they were willing to exchange it for liberty. Artisans were to be held as captives and forced to labor for their French masters. Subjects of Rome, of course, if any were found among the heretical colonists, were to be exempt from these hard conditions, and were to

be protected and fostered. This diabolical scheme, involving the destruction of an entire people, numbering according to statistics over seventeen thousand souls, was intrusted to Frontenac for execution, and we know how ardently he entered upon his task, and how signally he failed in its accomplishment, though he inflicted suffering and death upon many English colonists. The same pitiless spirit was exhibited in the laws against those who failed to bow in unquestioning obedience to Rome, which disrupted families, and sent men and women, "without form or figure of trial," to the galleys or prisons, where they quickly succumbed to the hardships to which they were subjected.

It was for the release by the French king of one hundred and thirty-nine galley-slaves, whose only offence was that their Christianity was not Roman, that Queen Anne, shortly after the signing the Treaty of Utrecht, in return for the favor which she had solicited, granted certain privileges to the Acadians within the territory which she had acquired. The indefensible attitude of the French toward Protestants must be fully recognized in order to interpret correctly the acts of the English in their dealings with the problems which they encountered after assuming rule in Acadia.

Nicholson, the English governor, had hardly settled his military family in the new territory, when Vaudreuil, the governor of New France, wrote to the French minister at Versailles, quoting from Father de la Chasse, a Romish missionary, that "temporal interest serves as a vehicle of faith" with the savages, and that a war between them and the English "is more favorable to us than peace"; hence "temporal interest" was to be directed to this end. This was the key-note to French policy, and from that moment, as well in peace as in war, no effort was spared to render the tenure of the English precarious, not only in Acadia, but elsewhere in America, by fomenting trouble between them and the savages, and by preventing the people in the ceded territory from rendering allegiance to the English crown.

When we consider the state of feeling which existed in France toward Protestants, who were regarded as beyond the pale of mercy, and with whom it was not deemed necessary to keep faith, we cease to wonder at the methods employed by French missionaries, reared in a school of intolerance, the intensity of which we can in this age hardly realize. By a law enacted in the reign of Louis XIV., two years after the date of the Treaty of Utrecht, a person not accepting in his last illness the Roman sacrament, was regarded as a relapsed person, whose body might be dragged through the streets on a hurdle and "consigned as the refuse of the earth to the filth of the common sewer," while his property was subject to confiscation by the State. The penalty for preaching Christianity unsanctioned by Rome was death, and the children of Protestant marriages were declared illegitimate. The men who were educated under such laws, and who believed them to be divinely sanctioned, could not be expected to hesitate in the performance of any act calculated to rid the land of heretics, and they did not do so. Their correspondence, in connection with that of the French government, fully reveals the part they played during the period of forty-two years, which constitutes the history of Acadia from the date of its cession to the English in April, 1713, to the beginning of the deportation of its inhabitants in August, 1755.

To understand the subject clearly, we should first take note of the fact, that by the terms of the Treaty the Acadians were to "have liberty to remove themselves within one year to any other place, as they shall think fit, with all their movable effects"; but that those who remained and became British subjects, were "to enjoy the free exercise of their religion according to the usage of the Church of Rome," but subject to British law. If they did not depart within the specified time, that is, before the close of August, 1714, they forfeited their right under the Treaty to depart. Were they prevented during this period

from departing? It would appear that they took steps immediately to ascertain what aid they would receive from the French government if they removed to Isle Royale, and that they were not satisfied with the terms offered; that the nature of the soil was such as to disincline them to leave their old homes. This caused delay. Finally, however, land was offered them on Prince Edward Island, which was more acceptable, and they applied for leave to remove there, to Lieutenant-Governor Vetch, who was in command at Port Royal during the absence of Nicholson, who was soon expected to return, and Vetch referred the matter to his superior's decision. Nicholson returned some weeks before the expiration of the year, and was met by agents of the French Government, who asked, as it was then too late in the season for the Acadians to establish themselves in the new territory, to extend the time of their removal a year longer, and to permit them to construct vessels for the transportation of their effects, and to receive the outfit they would require from France. Nicholson properly referred this proposal, as it involved a question of commercial privilege, to the queen, who died before receiving it, and the matter failed to be acted upon. It would appear that Nicholson, who was governor for four years, as well as his subordinates, viewed with alarm the entire abandonment of the country by the inhabitants, and that they were not disposed to aid them at all in the project; nay, that they were inclined to throw obstacles in the way of its accomplishment, as it would leave the country bare of producers, and render still more insecure their position in the country, unsatisfactory enough at the best.

That they did not exhibit a more self-sacrificing spirit, and without regard to their own welfare did not aid the emissaries of France in their efforts to get their credulous dependents out of the country, so that no suspicion of non-compliance with the exact spirit of the treaty on the part of any British officer could possibly be entertained by a

modern critic, is doubtless to be regretted ; yet, when we consider the wily, treacherous and pitiless foes against whom the English were struggling, as well as the moral code existing at the time, we may well hesitate to judge them by the more finely adjusted standards of today.

The question of the removal of the Acadians by the terms of the treaty to French territory being practically settled, although some of them departed from time to time and joined their fellow-countrymen at Isle Royale and elsewhere, the question of their status under the English government is to be considered. To all intents and purposes, by not removing from the country within the period specified in the treaty for removal, no matter what influences prevailed to prevent them from so doing, they became the subjects of Great Britain and amenable to her laws ; indeed, everything shows that they so regarded themselves, though they refused to take the regular oath of allegiance, except with the reservation that they should not be called upon to bear arms. We may regard them, therefore, as British subjects, in the sense that they were subject to her laws and entitled to her protection, and were bound in good faith not to aid or abet her enemies.

It would seem from the testimony which we possess, that they were a peaceable people, densely ignorant and superstitious, as the *habitans* of Canada are today, though we may properly infer much more so, as the latter have for a long time been more or less in contact with educational influences. They were precisely the kind of people to make the best Roman subjects, and were so regarded by their old rulers, who were bound to use them to the extent of their power against those under whose sway they had come. Their misfortune was in listening to the emissaries sent among them by their former masters, and refusing to win the confidence of the government under which they were living, by frankly taking the oath of allegiance to it.

As before said, although France and England were at peace, efforts to render the position of the English insecure were begun very soon after the cession of Acadia to them. On July 10th, 1715, the King wrote to Ramesay and Begon, that he heard with satisfaction of the work of the missionaries among the savages, and that "as it is important to preserve them in the interests of the King, his Majesty desires that the Sieurs de Ramesay and Begon should incite these missionaries to redouble their efforts to that end, and to enquire if it may not be proper to attract them by new benefits and destroy in the English all hope of drawing them to their interests."

On December 24, 1715, the French minister wrote to Beauharnois from Versailles, "Since I have learned, Sir, of the loss that you have made of Acadia, I think continually of the means whereby this important post may be recovered before the English are firmly established there." The intrigues of the missionaries resulted in inflaming the savages with hate of the heretic English, and on September 6th following, Vaudreuil had the satisfaction of writing to the French minister, that "the Abnakis, the past year, 1715, have taken from the English more than twenty fishing vessels," and that he had promised to build them a church. He also said that one of his principal efforts had been "to maintain peace with the savages and to hinder them as much as possible from going to the English to traffic." This could only be done by making them presents every year, and he hoped "that his majesty will be willing to send this year to Canada thirty thousand livres of presents for the savages, and to continue to send every year those that it is customary to give them." He suggested that "thirty thousand weight of powder, sixty thousand of lead and six hundred hunting guns" be sent. "The latter are known to the savages who want no others but those of Tulle." They use "from twenty to twenty-five thousand weight of powder annually." In his report

to the government the 14th of the following month he remarked that "the Abnakis, Micmacs and Malecites, and others in the missions of the Jesuit fathers, Ralé and Loyard, remain on the sea coast, but they declare that upon the slightest rupture, they will be on the side of the French." The correspondence of the period reveals unceasing efforts on the part of the French to influence the savages against the English.

On October 29th, 1720, Father Charlevoix sent a memoir to the Duke of Orleans explaining the situation of affairs which had been brought about between the savages and the English. Several savage chiefs appeared before Vaudreuil and enquired if he would openly help them against the English. "I will engage," said the wily Frenchman, "the other savage nations to assist you." At these words they replied, with a mocking laugh, "Know that we and all the nations of this great continent whenever we wish will unite to drive out all strangers, whoever they may be." Vaudreuil, surprised, and realizing that they must be appeased, exclaimed dramatically, "that rather than abandon them to the mercy of the English he would march himself to their relief." Continuing, Charlevoix complacently says, "Monsieur Vaudreuil affirms that he has a trusted man among the savages of Norridgewock, who is wholly devoted to him, and by whose means, he will make the others do all that he may wish. Those who know the savages better are convinced that he should not trust to this. Monsieur Begon, on the other hand, is of the opinion that it is necessary that some rattle brain of a savage should strike the English a blow that leads to war."

The efforts of the French to arouse the enmity of the savages against them soon became known to the English. Not only was the garrison which held Port Royal, the gateway of Acadia, constantly menaced by the savages, but the settlements in New England were scourged by them. The French supplied them with guns and ammuni-

tion, and instructed them that the land was theirs, and that they should drive out the English intruders. French officers disguised as savages led them in their reprisals upon the settlers. While Vaudeuil and his associates were writing polite letters to the English authorities, they were urging their emissaries to inflame the savages against them. On March 13, 1721, letters from Vaudreuil and Begon, addressed to Ralé, the French governor's "trusted man" at Norridgewock, having been captured by the English, Governor Shute addressed the Lords of Trade as follows :

"My Lords :

"In my Letter of the 13th December last to the Rt Honble Board, I tooke the liberty to hint to your Lordships that I had good reason to Suspect that Mons'r Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada did Underhand stir up my Neighboring Indians to Maletreat His Majesty's liege Subjects.

"The Inclosed Letters will give plain Demonstration that my Suspicions were well Grounded. I have only sent your Lordships well attested Copys, not daring to send the originals, and run the risque of the Sea without direct Orders from home so to do.

"I shall take the liberty to remarke to Your Lordships, that these Letters were found in Mons'r Ralé's House, a ffrench Jesuite who constantly resides among my Neighboring Indians & is Useing his Utmost Indeavours to Engage them in a War against the English. . . . The Indians have lately killed some of our Cattle & threaten our Eastern Settlements, So that I am Under some Apprehension that a War will break out this Summer (which I will Indeavour if possible to prevent) Except some Measures be taken to oblige the ffrench Government at Canada to Act Strictly up to the Stipulations agreed to betwixt the Crowns of Great Brittain & France."

The following day he addressed a forcible and manly letter to Vaudreuil, informing him of the letters in his possession, and appealing to him to desist from his treacherous and cruel proceedings. He did not do this, however, and the result was an Indian war, with all its attendant cruel-

ties ; a war for which the emissaries of France, in the livery of Rome, were wholly responsible.

While the French were thus laboring to keep alive the fires of war between the savages and their English neighbors, they were not idle in Acadia. They fully realized the advantages which they possessed in having a people occupying English territory who were bound to them by ties of blood and sympathy. Every effort was made by the priests who were sent among these "neutrals," as they were called, to hold them to the interests of France, and to prevent them from becoming anything more than nominal subjects of Great Britain.

In 1715 Lieutenant-Governor Caulfield commanded in Acadia. As the time for the departure of the inhabitants, under the treaty, had expired, steps were taken to administer the oath of allegiance to those remaining, but without success. The inhabitants of Mines and Beaubassin flatly refused to take the oath, giving as an excuse that they "had made engagement to return under the rule of the King of France." At Port Royal, however, they offered to take an oath to maintain allegiance to Great Britain while they remained in the country, provided they should be permitted to depart at any time without hindrance.

At this time Père Gaulin was acting as missionary at Port Royal. Through his hands passed the presents to the savages, and by his advice the Acadians acted. He was intensely inimical to the English, and ready to do anything to cause them discomfort. He had, before the peace, which resulted in the cession of Acadia to the English, gathered a considerable body of men against them before Annapolis Royal, to which he laid unsuccessful siege. He was a man full of resources, and unscrupulous, if we may believe the French governor of Louisbourg, who rendered him substantial aid on that occasion. Such a man was bound to prevent the people, if possible, from becoming loyal subjects to a nation against whom he was hostile to the core.

He had taught the savages "to assert their native rights" to the ceded territory, and he was equally ready to teach the Acadian French to refuse to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, which it was necessary that they should take, if they expected to enjoy her confidence and protection. Five years after Lieutenant-Governor Caulfield's attempt to make them take this oath, General Phillips made another attempt, and we find Père Gaulin acting on the occasion as their spokesman. His majesty, he said, was very good to interest himself in their affairs, but that the proposal meant nothing less than a violation of their oath before Governor Nicholson, and that they wished to remain faithful to their word without changing anything, because if they modified its terms, it would expose them to the resentment and vengeance of the savages. This subterfuge, for it was nothing less, was understood by the English, as appears by the minutes of the Council, September 27th, 1720—

"That the French inhabitants do persist in refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, and look upon themselves as the indispensable liege subjects of France, by the engagement they have laid themselves under, and from which their Priests tell them they cannot be absolved. . . . That these inhabitants and the Indians are entirely influenced and guided by the Government of Cape Breton, and the missionary Priests residing among them."

This condition of affairs caused the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to address a memorial to the King, in which they said that the Acadians, who have remained in the province since the cession, "are entirely in the French interest, and by their communication and intermarriages with the neighbouring Indians, have gained them to their party; whereby they are enabled upon any occasion to engage the said Indians in a war against your Majesty's subjects—that the little trade derived in this country at present is entirely in the hands of these French

inhabitants—For which reason, as well as many others, it is absolutely necessary for your Majesty's Service that these French inhabitants should be removed." This was in 1721, and is the key-note of the movement, which resulted in the deportation of this unhappy people more than thirty years later.

It is plain that this deportation was no hasty affair, and that it might have been averted at any time, had it not been for the cruel policy of the missionaries, which prevented the Acadians from taking the only step possible to avert it. One of the most active of these in the early history of the Acadians, was Père Gaulin; "that old, mischievous incendiary," as he was denominated by Lieutenant-Governor Doucett. In one of Doucett's reports to the Lords of Trade, he says that "a good deal of plunder" taken from the English in 1722, was in his chapel, "when he was there to say mass to the Indians." On another occasion, says Mascarene, he received the ransom of English soldiers captured by his savages, and it is recorded of him in memoranda of the French Council, that he was "a brave man and capable of organizing and even conducting" the savages "on an expedition." In the same document it is recommended that instead of "300 livres" which he was receiving, he "might be granted 500 livres on the Staff." In 1727, Louis XV., having received an erroneous report that Gaulin had advised the savages to make peace with the English, informed St. Ovide of the report, and ordered him to continue to "encourage hostilities." To this St. Ovide replied that "so far from M. Gaulin and the other missionaries having prevailed upon the Indians to do so, that they had, on the contrary, incurred the displeasure of the English for having incited the Indians to continue the war." Another of these missionaries was St. Poncy, who, if we may believe the report of Père Maillard to his superior, "adroitly intercepted" letters of the English Governor, which fact, he says, "has been reported to us by those

who were charged with the conveyance of these letters." Of Le Loutre, so much has already been written, that it is unnecessary to detail the career of this restless plotter of mischief, as it is of others who were engaged in the same business. A single instance of his cruelty we may be pardoned for quoting. Says Knox, who was his contemporary, "he left a most remarkable character behind him in Nova Scotia for inhumanity, insomuch that a sentinel who had been placed over him (and had formerly the misfortune, when in a regiment stationed in that country, of being his prisoner, and was miraculously preserved from being scalped alive, to which cruel fate he had been doomed by this same Priest, who marked him with a knife round the forehead and pole in order to strip off the entire scalp) and, recollecting his face, unfixed his bayonet, with an intent, as he undauntedly confessed, to put him to death, had he not been with the greatest difficulty prevented from executing what he called a just vengeance on him. The soldier's resentment was so great, and he appearing before the Commander-in-Chief so determined, that it was thought necessary to remove him to England, and exchange him into another corps."

These men continued their work incessantly during the long peace which existed between France and England from 1713 to 1744, when the two nations again came into conflict. Mascarene, who has been greatly extolled for his kind and wise government of Acadia, had been in command for a number of years, and so continued through the war, which terminated in 1748. It has been attempted to show that Mascarene always regarded the Acadians as loyal and obedient subjects of Great Britain. Such, however, was not the case. Early in his experience with them he says, "The French who, like any new conquered people, were glad to flatter themselves with the hope of recovering what they had lost, saw with a great deal of satisfaction our moat walls every day tumbling down, our hospitals filling with

sick soldiers,—and thought no doubt no less than to oblige us to relinquish the fort and to fall under their national government again. About this time they dispatch't almost unknown to us the 'priest' from Manis to Canada with an account as may be supposed of all this." Later, he says, after the garrison had sustained a loss, "The French after this changed their countenance at once, and of humble and in appearance obedient, turn'd haughty and imperious, and threaten'd no less than to take us by assault and put every one of us 'to the edge of the sword.'" And to show how he regarded the situation at the close of the war in 1748, when he retired from his office, the following extracts are made from his report :

"It has appeared very plain to all on this side, that if the French when at Lewisbourg, had carried their point and master'd this Province, the addition of strength they would have acquired in gaining four or five thousand French Inhabitants able to carry arms, join'd to the several Tribes of Indians, who to a man are all at their Devotion, and a Country able to supply them with Provisions, they would in less than a year have overrun the Governments of New England. Those from Canada have since the taking of Lewisbourg, made two or three attempts in expectation of ships and Troops from France, to carry on the same scheme in which they have been disappointed. The cessation of arms, and the Peace like to ensue will for the present put an end to their projects, but as they are to have Lewisbourg restored to them, a few years will put them in the same Posture they were at the beginning of the War, and if another occasion offers, they may renew their Projects, and by the experience they have had from their former miscarriages, they will take better measures to render them more successful. . . . From whence it appears how necessary it is to put this Province on a better Foot than it has been or is at present. One of the greatest inconveniences it labours under is in having a large number of Inhabitants, who cannot be reckon'd to be attach'd to the British Interest ; and though they have been kept from joining the Enemy in Arms, it cannot be depended upon but that they may

do so at some other time. The difficulty of removing them has been represented in the Letter addressed to Governor Shirley the 7th Dec'r 1745, and which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordships, and to which I humbly refer. To counterballance the Deadweight of these French Inhabitants, a Number of British Familys might be settled on the Eastern Coast of this Peninsula."

Even the kind and benevolent Mascarene had considered the question of deportation ten years before it was begun, and when he had ended with them, had no confidence in their fidelity, although he had been able to keep them from open acts of disloyalty. He was evidently so well pleased with his success in this regard, that, whenever possible, he took occasion to report that they were submissive and peaceable. The correspondence of the period, French and English, reveals without a shadow of doubt how the French "Neutrals," so called, were regarded by both peoples, and it is idle to ignore their opinion. Vaudreuil on November 10, 1720, wrote "that the French at Port Royal were well disposed to throw off the yoke of the English," and we have seen how Mascarene regarded them.

Says Secretary Sherriff in March, 1745, "We are in Danger not only from Old France, but even from that our Neighbouring Province, if our Inhabitants are not removed."

Says Shirley May 10, 1746. "I am persuaded nothing has hinder'd the Acadians from taking up Arms against his Majesty's Garrison at Annapolis, but the Terror which the frequent Visits of the arm'd Vessels and Succours sent from this Place—struck 'em with."

Similar quotations might be almost indefinitely multiplied, but these are perhaps sufficient. The question is pressed, as though it established the status of the loyalty of the Acadians to Great Britain, why did they not join the French expeditions sent among them to expel the English? The answer is not far to seek; Shirley in fact

answered it. They did not dare to. The French had vanquished them once to the English, and they distrusted their power to protect them, while they had a wholesome respect for English push and tenacity. Of the feeling among the conquered people against the English, Knox gives us a glimpse. He says, "Though the better sort of men generally behaved with tolerable decency, yet the worst sort—being employed as servants and workmen—on frequent occasions (which, however, never passed uncorrected) of being impertinent in displaying the fruits of the good education they had received, for, in driving a cart or even, if an Officer or other British subject passed them on the street or road, they instantly called out to him scoundrel, by names of Luther, Calvin, Crommer (meaning Chamber) &c., and then laid most unmercifully on the wretched wretches with their whips or clubs, as if they had in any way got those eminent men under their hands."

In 1748 the war between France and England, which had lasted for four years, came to a close, and a treaty was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, by which Louisbourg and other territory captured by the English in the war were restored to France. This was a grave mistake on the part of England, and caused much irritation in New England, whose frontier settlements had grievously suffered from the savages, who had been instigated to make war upon them by French emissaries; indeed, the people of New England never forgave England for restoring to their inveterate enemy the strongly fortified city, considered almost impregnable, which had been forced to yield to the valor of their troops.

Acadia remained, as it had for thirty-six years, a province of Great Britain, but its boundaries were still sufficiently undefined to give rise to conflicting claims by both English and French. To offset the power of her rival, the seat of whose power was Louisbourg, England founded Halifax and planted there, in the summer of 1749, a colony of

about three thousand persons, well equipped in all that was necessary for the establishment of a stable government.

Governor Cornwallis, who had succeeded Mascarene, determined to exact from the Acadians the oath of allegiance which they had so long refused to take, and he immediately issued a proclamation commanding the people to appear within a given time and take the oath. This they refused to do, and declared that rather than take it they would leave the country. This reply greatly irritated Cornwallis, and he dismissed them with harsh words. From this time the secret hostility which had always existed between the English on the one hand and the Acadians and savages on the other, continued to increase, and frequently displayed itself in acts of violence. The Abbé Le Loutre, who has already been mentioned, proved to be a terrible foe to the English, and fomented trouble to the extent of his ability.

In 1752 Cornwallis was succeeded by General Hopson, who evidently exerted himself to establish peace among the discordant elements by which he was surrounded. The liberal policy of Hopson had its effect, and some of the Acadians who had left the country petitioned to be allowed to return, but stated in their petition that they could not take the oath of allegiance, alleging the old excuse that their refusal to do so was caused by fear of the savages. Just how far this excuse was really true is questionable; it certainly served its purpose for a time.

Unfortunately, perhaps, for the Acadians, Hopson's mild rule came to an end in 1753, and Lawrence, a man of a different type, succeeded to the government. Lawrence was an active, energetic man, a good soldier, and one who believed in obedience to authority. Alluding, just after his assumption of office, to the status before the courts of the Acadians, he says: "The French emissaries still continue to perplex them with difficulties about their taking

the oath of allegiance." He was determined, however, to bring the unsatisfactory relations which had so long existed between them and the government to an end. He was satisfied that the only way for England ever to hold her possessions securely was to colonize the country with her own people, and to make the French inhabitants take the oath of allegiance or displace them. He was a soldier, and fully realized the danger of sending these people to swell the ranks of the enemy. On August 1st, 1754, he wrote the Lords of Trade, setting forth the condition of affairs, and in this letter, speaking of the Acadians, declares it as his opinion, "that it would be much better, if they refuse the oath, that they were away." Can we wonder at this opinion? For more than forty years they had baffled the attempts of the English governors to make of them loyal subjects. The situation was one full of perplexities. War was likely to break out at any time between France and England, and here was a rapidly increasing population, which even if it were not an active ally of the enemy, would at least be, as Mascarene declared it to be, "a dead weight" to the government. At a council held at Halifax, July 3rd, 1755, the final test of loyalty was placed before the deputies who represented the Acadians. They were asked to show the proof of their fidelity to the government, which they had affirmed, by taking the oath of allegiance. This they declined to do. They were informed that for "Six Years past the same thing had been often proposed to them, and had been as often evaded under various frivolous pretences, that they had often been informed that some time or other it would be required of them and must be done, and that the Council did not doubt that they knew the Sentiments of the Inhabitants in general, and had fully considered and determined this point with regard to themselves before now, as they had already been indulged with six Years to form a Resolution

thereon." Their request to return home and consult their constituents further on the subject was refused, and they were told that they must now finally decide whether they would or would not take the oath. They again refused, and were allowed until the next morning to form a final resolution. On the next morning they appeared before the Council, and upon their refusal to take the oath, were informed that they were no longer British subjects, and would be treated as subjects of France. Orders were given to direct the Acadians to send new deputies in their behalf with "regard to Taking the Oath, and that none of them should for the future be admitted to Take it after having once refused to." The deputies who had already refused to take the oath here relented and offered to take it, but were refused the privilege. In spite of this, on the 25th of July the new deputies appeared before the Council at Halifax, bringing the final answer of the inhabitants, that they refused to take the oath of allegiance, though they declared their fidelity to Great Britain. This final refusal decided their fate, and Lawrence, on the 11th of August, wrote to the other governors in America, detailing what he had done and proposed to do. In this letter he states that they had unanimously refused to take the oath, and he asks "if they wou'd presume to do this when there is a large Fleet of Ships of War in the Harbour and a considerable land force in the Province, what might not we expect from them when the approaching Winter deprives us of the former, and when the troops which are only hired from New England occasionally, and for a small time, have returned home? * * * As their numbers amount to near Seven thousand Persons, the driving them off with leave to go whither they pleased, wou'd have doubtless strengthened Canada with so Considerable a Number of Inhabitants, and as they have no cleared land to give them at present, such as were able to bear Arms must have been immediately employed in annoying this and the Neighbour-

ing Colonies. To prevent such an inconvenience it was judged as necessary, and the only practicable measure to divide them among the Colonies, where they may be of some use as most of them are healthy and strong People." This was the plan that was carried out. The governors of the Colonies, however, for the most part were not pleased with this arrangement, and refused to provide for their residence among them. This, of course, caused much suffering among them, and many of them wandered about, finding no settled place of abode. Many finally found their way back to their French kinsmen.

This dispersion of the Acadians has been characterized as an act of cruelty surpassing in atrocity anything ever done by the French, not excepting the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the wholesale burnings of Protestants. This is, of course, exaggeration. That it was an act of cruelty is admitted. The question is, was it necessary? The English were in a precarious position, face to face with a treacherous enemy, French and savage, with a subject population hostile to them at heart, and liable at any time from inactive lookers-on to become active enemies. The situation described cannot be questioned. It is possible that if they had not sent away the Acadians, they might have finally completed the conquest of the country, but this we have no right to affirm. It is certain that many of the wisest and most patriotic among them regarded the removal of the Acadians and the colonization of the country left vacant by them, as a necessity. It has even been asked if it would not have been better for England and the English race if the scheme of deportation had been extended.

The Acadians have been depicted by some writers as having been a people quite above the common passions of mankind; living "an idyllic life" of simplicity, purity and freedom from guile; loving and lovable. The truth is, that we shall find their counterpart in the French

habitans of today. In Vol. 284 of Nova Scotia Documents, under the title, "Observations on the Progress of Agriculture in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with notices of Acadian manners and customs, in a project of Moses de la Dernier, Esq.," they are thus described :

"The former inhabitants, the Acadians who were settled before us on the different rivers which empty in the Bay of Fundy, had many difficulties to encounter—being ignorant of the nature and fertility of these valuable Marshes—but so soon as they acquired the knowledge of their great production of all sorts of Grain, and the facility of Obtaining Great Crops with little Labour, They gave up the cultivation of the upland to that degree as to make no use of their manure, and also chose to remove their barns and Hovels, rather than cart it away. They were so ignorant of the true principles of Husbandry that in the course of a century and a half they neither made cheese nor butter that was merchantable, and not having any knowledge of trade and commerce and no emulation or animation, but full of Bigotry and superstition, they disdained to avail themselves of Instructions which they might have had from Strangers, who settled from time to time among them—They did not labour more than half their time, the other half being chiefly taken up by their holidays."

This writer was much nearer them in point of time than we are; but that they are fairly represented by the *habitans* of today is declared by Joseph Guillaume Barthe, membre de l'Institut Canadien, in his remarkable book, "Le Canada Reconquis par la France." "In spite," he proudly says, "of two centuries of foreign domination and unheard of efforts put forth by the new possessors to assimilate the inhabitants of the conquered country, the French of Canada always preserve the same language of their fathers, the same religion, the same customs, the same kind of life." And he asks, "What more does one

want for the resemblance?" Here we have the key to the whole matter. From the beginning they have been taught by their priests to preserve their habits and customs, their traditions and folk-lore, and, above all, their language and fealty to France and to Rome. They have had constantly kept before their eyes the picture of a new epoch, with France the holy son of Rome crowned with the laurel of victory, and dispensing to them with a lavish hand the treasures of which they have been despoiled by the heretic usurper, who lies prone under the iron heel of the imperious victor. This vision is as bright today as it was to the poor Acadians in the time of Gaulin and St. Poncey and Le Loutre. The *Ancien Régime* is to be again restored, and New France is to rule not only the domain of which England has despoiled her, but New England as well, and who knows how far beyond her bounds? This dream seems almost too wild for sane men to entertain, but it is entertained as a matter of faith; indeed, it has become a dogma and is tenaciously adhered to even by men regarded as wise.

Some time ago the papers of New Orleans gave a report of a lecture by a prominent lawyer of that city, delivered to a French association. In this lecture the bald declaration was made that the French people were to be restored to their ancient rights to this continent. The fecundity of the French people was dwelt upon, and attention was drawn to the increasing sterility of the Anglo-Saxons, which, it was stated, would in time give the French a numerical superiority. The enthusiastic speaker urged his hearers to maintain their ancient traditions, their habits and customs, and, above all, their language and religion. They were advised to keep their children out of the English schools, and to maintain schools of their own everywhere. Money, he said, was being liberally supplied by their kinsmen in France to maintain such schools, in which loyalty to French ideas must be

taught. They were admonished to maintain ever bright the fires of loyalty to France. He told them that in New England the good work of French colonization was spreading, and that in Louisiana the promise of future French domination was good. He advised his hearers not to permit their children to contract marriages with the English, but to keep themselves a separate people in every respect and to use the English language only when obliged to use it. These sentiments are only too common in Canada. At a recent meeting of the Royal Society of Canada at Montreal were several members of French extraction, but at the same time English subjects, as their ancestors for several generations had been. To the surprise of some of the American delegates, their papers were in the French language, although the audience was mostly English. The president, who was English, at the close of one of these papers, quietly but pleasantly remarked that the paper was interesting, but would have been more so if it had been in English. The rebuke was not sufficiently pointed, as many doubtless felt. Here were men who had been born and bred under the free and beneficent rule of England. To her broad and liberal institutions they owed a debt of gratitude which they could never repay, and yet they deliberately emphasized the fact that they were still French, and prided themselves in being so. We cannot understand this intense loyalty to a foreign power until we find its source in the religious teaching of these people. From the day of England's acquisition of the country they have been taught that her rule was to be temporary, and that Providence was at last to restore to France her ancient dominions. Rome, whom Cardinal Gibbons himself declares is ruled by "a bureau of administrators," and whom Victor Charbonel, in his late letter to the Pope relinquishing his clerical office, so fittingly denominates "an ecclesiastical organization, which uses religion for skillful administration, makes it a domineering power, a

means of social and intellectual oppression, a system of intolerance," has sedulously fostered this wild dream, in order to herself hold the people in subjection to her dictates. Barthe, whose book, "*Canada Reconquered by France*," has already been quoted, after rejoicing in the fact that the French under British rule have never changed, thus effervesces: "New Hebrews by the rivers of Babylon, they ardently aspire to return to that family from which they have been grievously separated by the exigencies of inexorable politics. Their only way of salvation in this terrible alternative, at least for the moment, is to solicit and obtain the patronage of the ancient metropolis, which, by diverting to them a part of its superfluous population, will enable them in a measure to counterbalance and live on the same footing of equality with the ever increasing English emigration, thus aiding them in repressing the American invasion. Later, Eternal Providence, who watches over the progress and liberty of all people orphaned or disinherited, and who when they have attained their majority, or the fullness of their strength, cries in their ears these all powerful words, 'arise and walk, because thou hast no more need of tutelage, and because thou also hast the right of sitting at the common feast,' later, we say, Eternal Providence will achieve for Canada complete emancipation." His closing words are equally remarkable, and we may add one more brief quotation. "Behold," he cries, "O France, our worth! Behold what we have done to remain faithful. For thee, it now is, to decide if we shall be punished for this fidelity by a complete abandonment; if we shall be disowned by thee, because Destiny has torn us from thy arms; if we shall be forgotten because misfortune has in some small degree altered our resemblance. Then wouldst thou be less generous than Joseph sold by his brethren, who recognized them in the day of his prosperity, and surely it is not we who have sold thee." Then follow certain "*Pieces Justifi-*

catives," or Proofs, showing what steps have been already taken to reconnect the bonds of sympathy with France. It is difficult for an American or an Englishman to believe that the author of this book is serious, yet he has been accepted by Frenchmen in Canada and France as voicing the advanced sentiments of Frenchmen on both continents; indeed, as prophetic of the future restoration to power of New France, more resplendent in glory than ever. As has been said, it is difficult for one in whose veins circulates the temperate blood of the Anglo-Saxon to take these utterances as serious; but this difficulty vanishes when we consider the character of some of the publications which are circulated among the French operatives in our New England factory towns and their kinsmen over the border.

Take but one of these publications of the better sort, *The Bethlem*, a monthly illustrated magazine, published in several languages and devoted to the interests of St. Anthony, who is its patron. In its columns are advertised certain "holy industries," some of which are the sale of rosaries, chaplets, crosier beads and "memorial lists of the poor souls in Purgatory," all of which are "enriched" with various indulgences.

The department devoted to correspondents is filled with responses from all parts of the Union, which are painful to read, as they indicate that the minds of the writers are as clouded with superstition as if they belonged to the middle ages instead of the Nineteenth Century.¹ This is only alluded to in order to refresh our memories respecting the kind of teaching which the Acadians received, and as a reminder of what their descendants a century and a half later are receiving, and it is unwise for a modern author

¹ Thus one man sends a gift because through the Saint's help he has been enabled to purchase a piece of property at a price desired, and another because he has sold his house at a good price. A woman contributes for the benefit of the Souls in Purgatory because the Saint has procured work for her husband and son, and others for various services rendered by the Saint.

to contend that the Acadians, ignorant and superstitious, and practised upon by such inventions as have been mentioned, were independent of their teachers, and followed untrammelled the dictates of their own judgments in refusing to become loyal English citizens.

When we consider the case of these poor people, of families forcibly removed from their homes, often separated, and compelled to wander in exile, suffering want, and always unwelcome guests, we may well shed tears of sympathy for them; and knowing their character, how simple and ignorant and stubborn they were, how firm their belief in the value of merit resulting from obedience to the teachings of their missionaries, we need not wonder that they went blindly on, through physical inconvenience and suffering, to attain a reward commensurate therewith; and this, it may be reasonably affirmed, and not English trickery and cruelty, as has been asserted, caused the deportation of the Acadians.

VOL. XIII.

NEW SERIES.

PART 2.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE
ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER,

OCTOBER 21, 1899.



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CONTENTS.

	Page.
PROGRAMME AT THE MEETING	101
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	120
THE WRITING OF HISTOY. <i>James Phinney Esch</i>	132
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	148
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	154
History and Gifts	167
THE AMERICAN JURISDICTION OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON IN <i>COLUMBIAN TIMES.</i> <i>Simon Eben Baldwin</i>	179
SEVERAL GREAT LIBRARIES. <i>James Frothingham Henssell</i>	222
LONDON BROMIDE. <i>Robert Nazor Toppan</i>	237
THE PORRY OF DEAN. <i>John Bellows</i>	269

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1899, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE meeting was called to order by the President,
STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The following members were present :

George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury,
Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith,
James F. Hunnewell, Edward H. Hall, Edward G. Porter,
Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter,
Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes,
Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene,
Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman,
Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing,
Frank P. Goulding, James P. Baxter, G. Stanley Hall,
William E. Foster, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles P.
Greenough, Charles Francis Adams, Calvin Stebbins,
Francis H. Dewey, Henry A. Marsh, Simeon E. Baldwin,
Thomas C. Mendenhall, William T. Forbes, Leonard P.
Kinnicutt, George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo
Lincoln, John Noble, George P. Winship.

The records of the last meeting were read by the
Secretary.

Mr. ROBERT N. TOPPAN, of Cambridge, referring to a
statement in the record, asked how Mr. Evarts induced
the English government to submit to the Geneva Confer-
ence of Arbitration.

The inquiry was answered by Senator HOAR, who said :

Mr. Evarts, as I suppose is known by people familiar with his career, had a large number of English friends. He had been in England at one of the most interesting periods of the war. He was sent there by the administration for a special purpose, which it is unnecessary to deal with, and the leading Englishmen of that time, and all parties, had a great regard for his personal character and his ability. His correspondence with some of them is like the correspondence of college chums or classmates with each other. Now when the Geneva arbitration was proposed, it will be remembered that the American case, which is understood to have been prepared by Mr. Bancroft Davis, contained a claim for what was called indirect damages, that is, not only for the immediate loss of vessels by the *Alabama* and other rebel cruisers, but the injury to the United States by the prolongation of the war. In other words, the claim which is set forth in Mr. Sumner's elaborate speech on that subject was advanced. England was in a fury of indignation. She said we asked her not only to submit the question of her honor to the arbitration, but that we were going to bankrupt the English treasury. Mr. Evarts went to England to counteract this feeling. I myself was abroad that summer. In May, 1871, I met Mr. Evarts and Judge Curtis and several other persons interested in this matter. Mr. Evarts's great point was, "Do nothing which prevents your going to Geneva. You can withdraw just as well after you get there as before, but go to Geneva." He impressed upon them that proposition, and it was his urgency, I have no doubt, which prevented the English government from withdrawing from the proposal to arbitrate before the parties met at Geneva. When they got to Geneva, there was an agreement between the counsel—American and English—before the arbitration proceedings began, that they should consent that the

arbitration tribunal should say in advance, when they first met, that they had received the case provided for, which was to be submitted under the treaty, and that on examining this portion of the American claim, it was their judgment that it was not rightfully within their jurisdiction. That was done by an undisclosed, but efficient and well understood agreement between the counsel. The arbitration made that amendment, and the agreement proceeded. Mr. Evarts's skill induced them not to withdraw from the arbitration until they met the Americans at Geneva, and then arranged this agreement between the counsel, that the arbitrators should make this announcement.

The report of the Council was read by JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, of Portland, Maine, with an essay on "The Writing of History, especially of Local History; with some discussion of the orthography, etymology and pronunciation of Indian words."

The report of the Treasurer, NATHANIEL PAINE, was submitted, printed copies of the same being distributed among the members.

Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON next presented the Librarian's report.

By vote of the Society, the reports were accepted, and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The election of officers was next in order. Tellers reported that STEPHEN SALISBURY, by a unanimous vote, was re-elected President of the Society for the ensuing year.

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN, HENRY H. EDES and WALDO LINCOLN were appointed a committee of nomination. They presented the following list of officers:

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Boston.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven,
Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

Recording Secretary:

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

All the above being *ex-officio* members of the Council;
and the following—

Councillors:

HON. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.
REV. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.
HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.
JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, B.A., of Worcester.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence,
Rhode Island.
HON. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D., of Worcester.
HON. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., of Portland, Me.

Committee of Publication:

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.
NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.
CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.
A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The entire list was unanimously elected as officers of the Society.

In behalf of the Council, the Recording Secretary nominated the following gentlemen for membership :

John Shaw Billings, M.D., D.C.L., of New York City.

Abbott Lawrence Rotch, S.B., A.M., of Boston.

Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, S.T.D., of Boston.

Rev. Austin S. Garver, of Worcester.

These gentlemen were duly elected on separate ballots.

The Society next listened to a paper from Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, of New Haven, on "American Jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in Colonial Times."

Remarks on Judge Baldwin's paper followed, by ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, who said :—

I hesitate to say anything either by way of suggestion or criticism concerning the elaborate and exhaustive paper to which we have just listened. Nevertheless, there is one point concerning which I should like to add a few words. If I understood Judge Baldwin aright, he stated that there was but little to be apprehended in this country from the establishment of courts having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except through Acts of Parliament or by the appointment of a Colonial Bishop. Now, while I do not propose to combat that proposition, I would ask if it were made with full knowledge of the royal instructions which were issued to Governor Shirley. These are on file in the Archives, at the State House in Boston. I will not undertake to specify the date, but since it was customary to issue general instructions to the Governors when they assumed office, it is probable that they bear date 1741. They bear the seal of the Privy Council, and a portion of them were devoted to the part that Shirley was to take in the establishment of Ecclesiastical Courts, the jurisdiction

of which was specified in detail. They covered, if I recollect aright, certain cases for which there was no provision made in the civil courts. On that point I am not clear. I am speaking from memory, as to the application of certain papers which I have examined, to a topic which I have never studied, and I should not, therefore, wish to be held to strict accuracy in my statements as to the interpretation of these clauses in the instructions. Moreover, I have only heard, and have had no chance to read carefully, the valuable paper to which we have just listened, and therefore can not determine whether the suggestions that I have made would either controvert the statements contained in the paper or add information thereto, but if Judge Baldwin has never seen Shirley's instructions, I would suggest that he might, perhaps, find something in them which would interest him in connection with this paper.

The subject was discussed a few years since at a meeting of the American Historical Association in New York, in 1896, by Arthur Lyon Cross, a Harvard graduate, who has since that time pursued his studies on that point in England, where he has had access to the papers under control of the Bishop of London. The result of his labors was successfully submitted in competition for the Toppan Prize at Harvard University.

On the same subject, Prof. EDWARD CHANNING, of Cambridge, remarked:—

Dr. Cross has been for many years a student of mine, and he has worked up the subject of the Bishop of London, and the relation of the English Episcopate to the Colonies. He found a great deal of valuable material at Fulham and at Oxford, and he has searched the papers in the British Museum, and other places, that have never been used. I did not hear all of Mr. Baldwin's paper, but some of it that I heard contained facts which Dr. Cross

had not found. I was glad to find that there was some new material, but Dr. Cross has practically reconstituted our knowledge of that particular part of American history. His paper will be printed some time, and I think it will make a book of about four hundred pages.

Continuing, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS said :

I have listened to the paper just read by Judge Baldwin, with lively interest ; but there is one feature of the subject he has discussed, more curious perhaps than important, which I apprehend has escaped his research,— a thing not generally known, but none the less a fact, that the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, as distinguished from that of Plymouth, was primarily settled as a High Church, a royal prerogative colony. This took place under the auspices of one familiar in early New England annals, and with whose career our friend Mr. Baxter is more familiar than probably any other person alive. I refer to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who in 1623, only three years after the Plymouth settlement, and seven years before the coming of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, established a settlement at what is now Weymouth, midway between Boston and Plymouth. Sir Ferdinando then directly represented the King. His mind was full of the idea of a principality, as it were, in the New World, and to that end he sent out to Massachusetts Bay, a portion of a vast American domain of which he had received a patent from the King, a party, at the head of which was his son, Captain Robert Gorges. The intention was to secure the whole of that domain for the Church, for the King, and for Sir Ferdinando Gorges. With this party there came out a clergyman, one William Morell, — the individual Judge Baldwin has just referred to ; but Morell, during his stay in New England, did not live at Plymouth, as Judge Baldwin has stated, but at Weymouth. Bradford, in his history, mentions the fact that on his return to England

the following spring, Morell sailed from Plymouth, and the historians have, ever since, assumed that because he sailed from Plymouth, he had during his stay in the country lived there. This is an error. He, with Blackstone, Maverick, and a number of others, the companions of Captain Gorges, sat down at Weymouth, and there formed the first settlement in the Massachusetts Bay. Subsequently Blackstone moved over to Shawmut, and Maverick to what is now East Boston. Thomas Morton and Sir Christopher Gardner, with both of whom Sir Ferdinando Gorges had relations, were also in the neighborhood; the whole constituted a small, scattered community, of a distinctly church and royalistic character. Subsequently, both Robert Gorges and, a little later Morell, went back to England, where the former died; one winter in New England was more than his constitution could stand. Nevertheless the Weymouth, or Gorges, settlement was never discontinued, though it underwent no development. It was a sickly affair, lacking both means and numbers. In fact it had nothing save royal authority, church and prerogative; but of those it had, in name, abundance. It wholly lacked that element of vigorous Puritanism, which, representing a large English constituency, at that time much disposed to emigration, a few years later found its way to Massachusetts, swallowing up and obliterating the earlier impulse.

When Winthrop arrived in 1730, he found Blackstone living in what is now Boston, Jeffries and a few others on the further, or Southern, side of Boston bay, at Weymouth, Maverick at East Boston, Morton, Gardner and the rest, in all, some sixty souls, scattered here and there in the neighborhood. Sooner or later most of them were persecuted out of the country, because of religious or political proclivities. Nevertheless, it is an historical fact, and one which I take pleasure in mentioning here in connection with Judge Baldwin's paper, that there should have been

this first Church and Prerogative wavelet, which made itself felt in a permanent shape in Massachusetts, though subsequently completely submerged in the irresistible deluge of Puritanism. At one juncture, therefore, it was far more probable that Massachusetts would be a Church and State colony than it was that it would be a Puritan colony, and the contest carried on between Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Winthrop, until the breaking out of the great rebellion in England, is one of the obliterated facts in New England history, which has been unearthed since Dr. Palfrey wrote. It remains, none the less, a dramatic feature in New England history that there should have been this settlement, countenanced directly by Archbishop Laud and King Charles the First, which for a time existed within the limits of Massachusetts Bay, just between Boston and Plymouth, and then disappeared, and was so utterly extinguished that, until recently, its very existence was lost sight of.

Before closing these remarks I would like to ask Judge Baldwin, whether, in the course of his investigations, he has come across the footprints of another who has given great attention to this subject of Episcopacy in early New England history. I refer to our friend, Judge Mellen Chamberlain, of Chelsea. Judge Chamberlain some years ago investigated this subject very thoroughly, and incorporated his conclusions in a paper which has been recently published by him in a volume entitled, I think, "John Adams and other Papers." He there went very thoroughly into the question of the attempted establishment of Episcopacy in New England at a much later day, just anterior to the Revolution, and the part the attempt bore in the troubles which led up to the War of Independence. Judge Chamberlain's paper is of very considerable historic value. Moreover, it will give me great pleasure to point out to Judge Baldwin hereafter the authorities bearing upon Morell, and the first, and much earlier, Church and

State settlement within the limits of the Massachusetts Bay.

Judge BALDWIN replied :—

I did not feel at liberty to detain the Society too long in reading from the paper which I have submitted, and so did not refer to John Adams's views at length. They are clearly presented in Mr. Chamberlain's sketch of him. In reference to the instructions to the royal governors, those referred to were given during the life of the Commission to Bishop Gibson. I think it highly doubtful if the Commission went quite as far as it is said they may have gone. His authority was confined to the special causes and matters expressed and specified, with the power and right to visit all the churches in which divine service was celebrated, and all the priests and deacons of the Church of England, and nobody else. His jurisdiction being limited to the Church of England, and ample for that purpose, it is not probable that during his life any greater jurisdiction was really given to any royal governor.

JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, of Charlestown, read a paper on "Libraries."

President SALISBURY announced that Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., had recently presented to the Society a large folio volume containing the original deeds, accounts and correspondence relating to the Tantiusque Black Lead Mine in the vicinity of the town of Sturbridge. It covers a period from 1644 to 1776, and is preceded by an introduction and index prepared by Mr. Winthrop. There are 127 separate papers and 9 plans. The judgment and good taste shown in the neatness and elegance of the compilation, which is explained by numerous foot-notes and an appendix, place it among the best of manuscript volumes.

Mr. Winthrop accompanied this gift by an original autograph letter of William Bradford to Governor John

Winthrop in 1640, and two original autograph letters of Roger Williams, one to Governor John Winthrop in 1637, the other to John Winthrop, Jr., in 1675, and all three printed in 1863 in the Sixth volume of the Fourth Series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections.

The Bradford letter from Plymouth begins as follows:—
"Sir, Not knowing of this conueiance till they were ready to goe, I thought good to scribe a word or tow by candle light, rather then not to advertice you of so serious a mater." It gives notice of efforts on the part of Narragansetts, by presents of white and black beads to the Mohawks, "to entreat their help against you and your friends if they see cause"; saying that the Mohawks have received their presents, bidding them begin when they will, and they will be ready for them. He does not declare the source of information, "for it would cost the lives of some if it should be known," and requests that the information be given to the Governor, Thomas Dudley.

Roger Williams's first letter, New Providence, 1637, states that 3 pinnaces and 2 shallops are arrived, and that Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Traske with 160 men are on their way, if not for the pursuit of Sasacous and the Pequots, yet for the quelling of their confederates who live nearer to you on the westward. He asks that such Pequots as submit to them be not enslaved like those which are taken in war, but be used kindly, have houses and goods and fields given them, "because they voluntarily choose to come in to them, & if not received will to the enemy or turn wild Irish themselves."

Roger Williams's second letter, Nahigonsik, 1675, describes negotiations with Miantonomo's youngest son and the old Queen of the Narragansett Indians, which resulted in a promise by the Narragansett Indians to have no agreement with Philip nor to send aid, and if Philip or his men fled to them, they would deliver them up to the English. "Sir,

my old bones & eys are weary with travel, & writing to the Governors of Massachusetts & Rhode Island & now to your selves."

I will ask our associate, Rev. Edward G. Porter, to describe more fully the manuscript volume above mentioned.

The President then called upon Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER, who spoke as follows :—

It gives me much pleasure, Mr. President, to respond to your request, and to present to the Society, on behalf of our friend, Mr. Winthrop, this large collection of original documents relating to the interesting but almost unknown Tale of Tantiusques.

Last year, while I was making some investigations along the line of the early trail between Boston and the Connecticut, I became interested in certain localities in the town of Sturbridge, and especially in the traditions of the old Black Lead Mine, in the extreme south-western part of the town. On my return to Boston, I chanced to inquire of Mr. Winthrop whether he might not have, among his many unpublished papers, something bearing upon this Mine. He replied that he had, but that I was the first man who had ever asked him about them. Encouraged by my inquiries, he offered to collect such material as he could discover upon the subject and let me examine it.

In due time, to my surprise and delight, he brought together over a hundred manuscripts, stretching at intervals from 1644 to 1776, and as many of them were fragile and tattered, he kindly had them repaired and bound up in chronological order in this capacious folio.

To make the collection still more convenient and intelligible, Mr. Winthrop has given, in his own clear handwriting, a full introduction and a complete summary of the contents, with such supplementary notes as would be of service to any one wishing to investigate the matter thoroughly.

It appears that as early as 1644 the General Court granted to John Winthrop, Jr., 'ye hill at Tantiusq, about

60 miles westward, in which the black leade is, and liberty to purchase some land there of the Indians.'

Here are the five Indian deeds confirming a tract ten miles square; two of them dated 1644, one 1644 $\frac{1}{2}$, and two 1658. Then follow certain digging agreements with Thomas King in 1644, Matthew Griswold of Saybrook in 1657, with Thomas Clarke and William Paine, Boston merchants, in 1658, and another of the same year, with some allusions to the New Haven Iron Works. In one case Winthrop was to have two-thirds, and in another one-third of the profits. These deeds were recorded at Springfield as late as 1752, by Edward Pynchon, Registrar, as I had occasion to prove last summer.

Fitz John Winthrop bequeathed to his brother Wait, in 1707, his undivided half of the land which had belonged to their father. In 1714 Wait Winthrop began to improve the Tantiusque property, as is shown in several maps, prepared for him then, which are now placed in this volume. One is a rude survey of a tract four miles square (10,240 acres), made by John Chandler, by order of the General Court, in 1715. This map has some interesting features that deserve to be noticed; *e. g.* 'Two stone houses where Gov. Winthrop's miners formerly lived.' (The ruins of these houses are distinctly seen today by the roadside.) 'Beaver dams' at the outlet of a stream. 'Great Indian Hunting House,' on the Quinebaug River. 'This hill is full of ruff granate.' 'Great Swamp.' 'Intervales hereabouts.' 'Good upland here.' 'Old cartway from y^e mines towards Windsor.' 'Col. Hutchinson's mines, at or near Ashford, about 12 miles from y^e other mines.' (Wait Winthrop wrote in 1700, 'Coll. Hutchinson has set men to digg black lead somewhere about the line - - - one tells me 'tis our lead mine land - - - it were good to have it recorded.') I notice also such references as these: 'Enfield Path'; 'Springfield Path'; 'Toward Brookfields.'

There is a similar map in the handwriting of John Winthrop, F.R.S., and another prepared a little later; also a colored drawing, somewhat ornamental, with conventional trees and buildings, together with such neighboring settlements as Woodstock, Union. Stafford, Brimfield and Medfield New Town [Stur]

Next we have a letter from John Chandler, 1726, drafts of two petitions to the Privy Council about 1730, and a letter from Roland Cotton, 1736. In the last named year John Winthrop, F.R.S., started a scheme in England for working the mine on a larger scale, with the financial help of several persons, one of whom was Samuel Sparrow, a London merchant, who twice visited New England on this business. Many of his letters are filed here. He agreed to sell 500 tons. A resident superintendent was now sent out—Captain John Morke, a Swedish engineer, who had been in the service of the Duke of Hamilton, and boasted of his descent from Tycho Brahé. From Morke we have a large number of letters, with an account of his expenses and a memorandum of payments made to him. He was in Winthrop's service from 1736 to 1741, and proved a quarrelsome and costly steward. Some of his letters are addressed to Winthrop, others to the latter's cousin, Mrs. Henrietta Hyde, Colonel Churchill, John Still Winthrop and John Lewis (Winthrop's counsel). Morke expected to supply 150 tons a year for France and Holland, at about £100 per ton.

Besides Winthrop's letters from England,—exhibiting the failure of the undertaking to pay its expenses and the resulting litigation with Sparrow and Jeremiah Hunt, D.D., another investor,—there are letters from his sons-in-law, Joseph Wanton and Gurdon Saltonstall, on the same subject. Also letters from John Still Winthrop and John Wright written from the mine itself, a statement to the Royal Society concerning the supposed value of the ore in 1741, a variety of letters from other persons, with a copy of Winthrop's "Case" in 1745, and a deposition of Henrietta Hyde before the Lord Mayor of London relating thereto. He died in 1747 and there are a few letters of later date referring to his adjacent property in Brimfield. The last allusion to Tantiusque found among the family papers is in the inventory of John Still Winthrop, who died in 1776. Of the original tract of ten miles square there then remained unsold 3184 acres by estimation, appraised at £955. 4.

The Proceedings and Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society have several important references to this subject, which have been carefully collated by the donor in their proper order.

Serious obstacles beset this Tantiusque enterprise from the very beginning, owing partly to the remoteness of the mine from any white settlement and the consequent difficulty of getting laborers, supplies, horses and oxen. There were no proper roads, and the long haul of the ore to Enfield or Windsor for shipment added greatly to the expense. The digging proved to be a hard job, the rock had to be broken up with fires, and there were sometimes fourteen feet of water in the trenches. Some of the early cargoes were captured by the Dutch. Disappointment and recrimination led to a series of law suits above alluded to, and the results in some cases were almost tragical.

The first white man who visited this section is believed to have been John Oldham, in 1633. The Indians showed him specimens of lead and told him it was found near a pond which they called Quassink. Winthrop sent Stephen Day, the printer, in May, 1644, to examine the deposits and to search for other minerals. How often he was there himself is uncertain, but in November, 1645, he records having intended to visit the mine on horseback from Boston, but missing the trail in a snow-storm, he brought up at Springfield.

An early path was opened from the mine through what is now Holland to Brimfield, where it connected with the old way to Springfield. Richard Fellows, innkeeper at Monson, undertook at one time to convey the lead to the Connecticut. One of the early letters speaks of searching for a pathway over Breakneck Hill.

The Apostle Eliot, in 1655, bought of the Indians one thousand acres near the ponds, on the borders of Sturbridge and Brimfield. Mr. Levi B. Chase, of Sturbridge, a diligent and accurate investigator of the records and of local topography, has successfully defined the bounds of the Eliot purchase. Individual ownership of land in this neighborhood was first practically established in 1714, when Saltonstall's farm of two thousand acres was surveyed. He selected a fine location in the fertile valley of the Quinebaug, including what is now the centre of Sturbridge.

About 1828, Frederic Tudor of Boston, the "Ice-King," bought the property and worked the mine for many years, getting some two hundred tons out of it annually. Occa-

sionally masses of pure graphite, of fine lustre, were obtained, weighing as much as twenty and even fifty pounds. The structure between the veins was often scaly and fine granular. An inclined track was put in, most of which still remains. Mr. Wight of Sturbridge was Mr. Tudor's agent, and he gave the work to a few men of the neighborhood. I talked with one of them (Deacon Blodgett of Holland), who in his youth was glad of the opportunity to earn a little money so near his father's home. He said that in 1830 three men were buried by the caving in of a part of the mine; two were killed, but the other survived and lived to a good old age. When the Western railroad was built, the ore, which was crushed in a neighboring cider-mill, was packed in barrels and carted over the hills to Charlton depot, and sent by train to Boston. Since Mr. Tudor's time all work here has been suspended, and now we find bushes and trees growing over a large part of the area where so many hands have diligently wrought.

The estate has lately been bought by Mr. Francis L. Chapin of Southbridge, who told me in June that he had no intention at present of experimenting with the mine. I have lately heard, however, that he has made a further examination and decided to renew the attempt to make the property remunerative. If he succeeds, it will be by the application of modern scientific methods and the easier facilities for transportation. I am ready to believe that the results may yet show that the sharp-eyed Indians, the persevering Winthrops and their enterprising successor, Mr. Tudor, were, after all, not deceived as to the value of the resources of this ancient mine.

It is a lonely but interesting spot, well worth a visit for the sake of the scenery as well as for the old-time associations. The dark waters of Quassink, now called Lead Mine Pond, a quarter of a mile below, form almost the only break in the rugged landscape. Picnic parties, I am told, occasionally resort to these deep and shady caverns; and, indeed, I found myself quite ready for the rustic lunch which my host and his companions had thoughtfully provided. I then filled my pocket with these small lumps of plumbago, which I am happy to offer for the cabinet of our society. This volume contains abundant

material, as you have seen, for an exhaustive paper upon the subject at some future time. It is deposited here at my suggestion, knowing that it will be well cared for in our archives, and accessible to those who may hereafter wish to consult it in connection with a visit to that remote and well-nigh forgotten corner of Worcester County, where once roamed the friendly race of the Tantiuques.

A vote of thanks from the Society was extended to Mr. WINTHROP for his generous gifts.

A paper entitled "The Andros Records," by ROBERT N. TOPPAN, was read by the Recording Secretary.

Senator GEORGE F. HOAR read a paper on "The Forest of Dean," by John Bellows of Gloucester, England. As an introduction to his paper, Senator Hoar said :—

Some years ago, through the kindness of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, I made the acquaintance of John Bellows of Gloucester, England. He is a foreign member of this Society. He seems to me to be one of the most accomplished persons I have ever known. He is a native of Cornwall, but lives in Gloucester, and is, I suppose, unsurpassed or unequaled as an authority on Roman roads, the plans of their sites, and everything connected with the Roman occupation of England. He is also a man of great general learning. He is well versed in the ancient languages, early English, Saxon, and so on. He is a good Latin and French scholar, and is the author of a very convenient dictionary, which I dare say some of our associates are familiar with, the small editions of which are much more costly and valuable than the larger. I was fortunate enough to take a ride with him in a carriage through the Forest of Dean, and I asked him to write a paper on that Forest. It is one of the most curious and interesting portions of the island of Great Britain. He has kindly complied with the request. He has put his paper

in the form of a narrative of our ride. I will read the paper to the Society.

The Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN reported to the Society that the family of Oliver Ellsworth have in their possession many manuscripts, in the way of papers and correspondence, which they have been thinking of putting in the hands of some competent persons to aid in the preparation of a biography, but they hesitate on account of the time that has elapsed since his death. Judge Baldwin offered the following minute, which was unanimously adopted :—

"The American Antiquarian Society, understanding that the descendants of Oliver Ellsworth, in whose hands his papers and correspondence have been preserved, have had in contemplation the preparation of a suitable biography of their ancestor, but hesitate to proceed on account of a doubt whether there would be any general interest in the subject on the part of historical students, desires to express its opinion that there should be accessible to the public a fuller account of Chief Justice Ellsworth's life than any yet published, and that his services in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, as well as in framing and developing the judicial system of the United States, merit and demand more adequate commemoration."

In connection with the subject, Senator HOAR remarked :

I think Oliver Ellsworth one of the very greatest characters, not only in American History but in judicial history. Judge Baldwin can speak with more authority than I can. But it has been my duty, as Chairman of the Law Committee of the Senate for many years, to be pretty familiar with the Judiciary Act of which Ellsworth was the framer. That Act was a great piece of constructive legislation. It entitles its author to almost as much fame and credit as belongs to the framers of the Constitution itself, of which Ellsworth also was one. You find no more doubt about one of his sentences than you can in the meaning of the multiplication table, and his method of

defining the boundaries between national and state jurisdiction has worked perfectly and admirably from the beginning. The story is told of Aaron Burr, that at one time when he was Senator and the Senate was sitting with closed doors, perhaps in a little vexation, he said that the authority of Ellsworth in the Senate of the United States was such that if he should take a fancy to spell the name of God with two d's, it would take the Senate three weeks to get rid of the superfluous letter.

A letter from Rev. CYRUS HAMLIN, D.D., of Lexington, was read, expressing regret that he would no longer be able to attend the meetings of the Society. It was voted that the Secretary salute Dr. Hamlin in the name of the Society, and thank him for the valuable papers which he has presented, and express our regret that he is no longer able to attend the meetings.

By vote of the Society, the various papers were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was dissolved, and by invitation of President SALISBURY, the members present were entertained with a luncheon at his house.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council, in presenting their semi-annual report to the Society at the close of the 87th year since its incorporation, are pleased to assure the members of the continued success in carrying out the objects of the founder.

The annual report of the Treasurer shows that the finances of the Society are in a prosperous condition, and that of the Librarian indicates a substantial increase in the library and a growing interest in the use of the valuable archaeological and historical material it has accumulated.

Our associate, Charles L. Nichols, has prepared a biographical sketch of William Stevens Perry, who died in May, 1898.

The Council have to chronicle the deaths of six members of the Society since the last semi-annual report was presented: Othniel C. Marsh of New Haven, Reuben A. Guild of Providence, William S. Barton of Worcester, Daniel G. Brinton of Media, Charles M. Lamson of Hartford, and Robert Clarke of Cincinnati. Appropriate memorials of these gentlemen (with the exception of Dr. Brinton, which will come later) have been prepared, and are presented as part of the report of the Council.

Through our associate, William E. Foster of Providence, we have received a notice of Reuben A. Guild, prepared from a memorial written by Prof. William C. Poland of Brown University.¹

William Stevens Perry, the oldest son of the late Stephen Perry, of Providence, R. I., was born in that city on the twenty-second of January, 1832.

¹ Miss Georgiana Guild of Providence, has kindly revised this notice of her father.

He was descended from John Perry, who came to New England with John Eliot, "The Apostle to the Indians," and on the maternal side from William Stevens, of Falmouth, Maine.

Educated in the schools of Providence, he entered Brown University in 1851, but transferred his allegiance to Harvard in his sophomore year, and was graduated with the class of 1854. He studied at the Virginia Theological Seminary, near Alexandria, the school which numbers among its graduates such men as Phillips Brooks and Henry C. Potter, and which can assert that the missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church have been founded almost without exception by its sons.

After graduation he returned to Watertown, Mass., and materially aided in the organization of the parish of Grace Church, Newton. He was ordained deacon in that church March 29, 1857, by Bishop Eastburn, and advanced to the priesthood by the same Bishop in St. Paul's Church, Boston, April 7, 1858, serving in that church as assistant to the Rev. Dr. Alexander H. Vinton until October of the same year.

He then became rector of St. Luke's Church, Nashua, N. H., where he remained until 1861. From this date he was rector of St. Stephen's Church, Portland, Me., for two years. During this pastorate he was married in Gambier, Ohio, January 15, 1862, to Sara Abbott Woods, youngest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Mather Smith, D.D., at one time President of Kenyon College.

After a year as one of the editors of the *Church Monthly*, published in Boston, he accepted the rectorship of St. Michael's Church, Litchfield, Conn. Here his life was passed until 1869, when he was called to Trinity Church, Geneva, N. Y., where he remained until his elevation to the episcopate in September, 1876.

During his residence in Geneva he filled the chair of History in Hobart College, from 1871 to 1874, and was

elected President of that College in April, 1876, which office was, however, resigned in September, upon his election as Bishop.

His vital interest in the Episcopal Church throughout his life placed him in important positions in the councils of that church.

In 1859 he was a deputy from the diocese of New Hampshire to the General Convention held at Richmond, Va., and as deputy, officer, or Bishop he was present at every subsequent Triennial Convention. He was appointed Assistant Secretary of the House of Deputies in 1862, and Secretary of the Convention from 1865 to 1876. In 1868 he was elected by the two Houses of the Convention Historiographer of the American Episcopal Church, which office he held until his death.

He was, without exception, the most voluminous writer in the Episcopal Church of America, his various publications comprising over one hundred and twenty-five separate titles.

The volume of "Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Virginia," elicited the thanks of the legislature of that State. The "Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church," five volumes, privately printed, "A Half Century of the Legislation of the American Episcopal Church," three volumes, annotated and published at the request of the Convention, and his "History of the American Episcopal Church from 1587 to 1883," are perhaps his most important works.

Bishop Perry was a member of the Lambeth Conference of 1878 and that of 1888, and a member of the "Alt Katholik" Conference, held in Bonn, in 1875, and at each of these meetings he took an active part and wielded no inconsiderable influence. He was one of the three Bishops appointed to prepare and report the "Standard Prayer Book of 1892."

Bishop Perry was intensely patriotic, and was interested

both by inheritance and by personal taste in many of the national orders and societies. He was an hereditary member of the Society of Cincinnati, and was for several years Chaplain-general of that order; in which capacity he delivered the sermon before the Society on the occasion of the Centennial observance of the Inauguration of George Washington in New York City.

Great as his patriotism was he never permitted it to stand in the light of historic truth as he viewed it, and when in 1893 he felt that this country was being carried away by the popular clamor for Columbus and the Spanish influence, he stood almost alone in his condemnation of this mistaken zeal—putting forward in a strong appeal to his countrymen the greater claim of Sebastian Cabot as the true discoverer of this continent, and the Anglo-Saxon idea as the foundation of our prosperity.

Nor would Bishop Perry allow his patriotism to become partisan, for when the delegates of the seceding States absented themselves from the Convention of 1862, he called their names in due order, thus manifesting great tact in that time of extreme emergency by refusing to recognize a break in the unity of the Church when the State was sundered by rebellion.

He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society, April 25, 1882, and always kept in touch with its progress and in sympathy with its interests.

All reference to his special life work and its successful results in his Diocese in Iowa has been purposely omitted as having no place in this notice; but at no time were his more immediate duties neglected for the many and varied interests beyond his State, and it was while engaged immediately in his diocesan labors that his life was ended on the thirteenth of May, 1898.

Among many honors paid him may be noted the degree of D.D., given by Trinity College, Hartford, in 1869, and the same degree conferred in 1888 by the University

of Oxford. He was made LL.D. by William and Mary College in 1876, and given the same degree in 1894 by Trinity College, Dublin, in recognition of the importance of his historical writings. The degree of D.C.L. was given by the University of Bishop's College in 1885, and was twice repeated by other colleges.

A man of strong personality and positive opinions, it is not surprising that the influence of Bishop Perry was marked upon the Church to which he was drawn by birth and by connection. A man of literary tastes and broad culture, and gifted with a facile pen, it was to be expected that his literary and historical writings would be numerous and important. In addition to these qualities, however, the winning courtesy and the deep humanity of his nature gave to Bishop Perry his great influence over the people among whom his later and more mature years have been passed, and endeared him to all classes of men. C. L. N.

Othniel Charles Marsh was born in Lockport, N. Y., October 29, 1831. His parents, Caleb and Mary G. (Peabody) Marsh, were natives of Danvers, Mass. He was indebted for his opportunities of education to his uncle, Mr. George Peabody, of London. He began his preparation for college in 1851, at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. From that school he entered Yale College, where he was graduated in 1860. In early life, before entering college, his predilection for the study of natural science discovered itself. After graduating he pursued this study in New Haven for two years. He then went abroad and devoted three additional years to the same pursuit, in Germany. Before the close of this period he had published several scientific papers in the *American Journal of Science*. In 1863 he was elected a Fellow of the Geological Society of London. In July, 1866, he became Professor of Paleontology in Yale College. Shortly after, Mr. Peabody founded in that institution a

Museum of Natural History, availing himself as to the terms of the foundation, of the counsels of Professor Marsh. Professor Marsh was appointed Curator of the geological collections of the College in 1867, and he superintended the erection of the first wing of the Museum, which was finished nine years later. A most important part of the career of Professor Marsh was the series of exploring expeditions in the West, which were led by him and which resulted in the discovery of a vast number of fossil remains, through the study and description of which he attained to celebrity in the scientific world. An indefatigable observer, he spared no pains and no expense, and even willingly encountered personal dangers, in the prosecution of these researches. In 1882 he was appointed Vertebrate Paleontologist of the United States Geological Survey, and held this office in connection with his professorship until his death. Professor Marsh was elected a member of the National Academy in 1874, and became President of that Society in 1883—an office which he held until 1895. His zeal and success in the advancement of science procured for him an honorable recognition abroad as well as at home. He was made a member of numerous learned societies in Europe. The Bigsby Medal of the Geological Society of London was bestowed on him in 1877, and the Cuvier Prize of the Institute of France, a Society of which he was a corresponding member, was awarded to him in 1897. Professor Marsh understood well the importance of presenting to his fellow-students in Natural Science accurate reports of his investigations and discoveries. He is the author of many distinct monographs and of numerous contributions published in scientific journals. His loyal attachment to Yale University is indicated by the fact that for a long period he served as professor without compensation, and left the principal part of his property by his will to that institution. Professor Marsh's health had been weakened for some time before his death, which occurred

on the 18th of March, 1899, in his sixty-eighth year. He was elected a member of this Society October 22d, 1877.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing brief sketch that the horizon of Professor Marsh was exclusively that of a specialist, broad as were the relations of his field of inquiry to general science. He delighted in flowers and in the culture of them in his own attractive gardens. He cared for plants that were rare and blossoms specially beautiful. His house was stored with pictures and objects of artistic merit or of curious interest, brought together partly from distant parts of the globe. Nor was his liberality in giving limited to the domain of science and scientific education. Those who knew him best are aware that in a quiet way he extended help to persons who were needy. Those most intimate with him, assistants who worked at his side, felt that along with his frankness that amounted often to bluntness—for he always said what he thought—there was a kind heart. Naturally the gentler side of his nature was most manifest to the neighbors and the close friends whose society he prized.

G. P. F.

Reuben Aldridge Guild died in Providence on the 13th of May, 1899, aged 77 years and 9 days. He was the son of Reuben and Olive (Morse) Guild, and was born at Dedham, Mass., on the 4th of May, 1822, being one of a family of eleven children. He was descended in the seventh generation from John Guild, who came to America in 1636, and was one of the original proprietors of Dedham. He built a house which he and his descendants occupied for more than two hundred years.

Mr. Guild was prepared for college at Day's Academy, Wrentham, Mass., from 1840 to 1841, under Mr. David Burbank (B.U. 1837), and Mr. Charles Coffin Jewett (B. U. 1835), subsequently Mr. Guild's immediate predecessor as Librarian of Brown University; and from 1841 to 1843 at the Worcester County Manual Labor High School

(now Worcester Academy), under Messrs. Nelson Wheeler, Henry Day (both afterwards professors at Brown), Joseph R. Manton (B.U. 1842) and Alfred E. Giles (B.U. 1844).

After graduation from Brown University as Bachelor of Arts, he was assistant librarian of the University from September, 1847 until March, 1848, when he became librarian, and he held this office until 1893. In all he had forty-six years of continuous and almost literally unbroken service. From 1893 to his death he was *Librarian Emeritus*.

He was a member of the Common Council of Providence for seven years, and of the school committee for fifteen years, most of the time being Secretary. He was Secretary of the Brown University Alumni Association for twelve years. He was President and Essayist of the Rhode Island Baptist Sunday School Convention for seventeen years; Secretary of the Rhode Island Baptist Education Society from 1850 to 1855. He was a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, of the Rhode Island Veteran Citizens' Historical Association, honorary member of the Essex Institute of Salem, Mass., of the Old Colony Historical Society, of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Historical Society, and held membership and office in many other organizations. He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1876, and as long as his health permitted was a regular attendant at its meetings.

In 1887, he prepared for the Society a paper entitled "Roger Williams, the Freeman of Massachusetts."

He was Secretary of the preliminary meetings held in Providence in 1871-72 for the establishment of a Free Public Library.

Dr. Guild was instrumental, in connection with the late Gen. Charles B. Norton, in calling the first librarians' convention ever known to have been held in the world's history. It met in New York, in September, 1853. The practical outcome of the convention was the publication

of his "Librarian's Manual" in 1858, which has long been regarded a "bibliographical classic."

He was a member of the American Library Association from its first meeting in Philadelphia, in 1876, when he was chosen one of the three original secretaries. He attended the first International Conference of Librarians in London, in 1877, serving on the Council. He was also elected honorary member of the Library Association of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Later, he was made non-resident lecturer of the Library School.

In 1893 he was appointed a member of the Advisory Council of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the Columbian Exposition on a Congress of Librarians, ranking as an honorary and corresponding member of the Auxiliary.

At the Denver conference of the American Library Association, in 1895, he was elected to honorary membership by virtue of a vote carried electing to such membership all surviving members of the famous library convention of 1853. A few days before his death, he received the following telegram from Atlanta, Ga., dated May 10, 1899:—"The American Library Association, in conference at Atlanta, sends grateful remembrances to an honored pioneer," a fitting recognition of his life's interest in library work.

For some time before his death, he was one of the Board of Managers of the Old Men's Home of Providence, R. I., to which he was a frequent visitor, bringing comfort and cheer to the inmates.

One of the marked events of his career was the removal of the college library from Manning Hall to the new library building given by John Carter Brown, which was dedicated on the 16th of February, 1878. On the next morning, attended by Prof. Diman, he reverently carried the first book to the new building, a superb folio copy of Bagster's Polyglot Bible, and placed it as book number one, in alcove one, on shelf one, calling it "the book of

books, the embodiment of true wisdom, and the fountain head of real culture, civilization and moral improvement." The work of classifying, rearranging and cataloguing the library of 48,000 volumes in the new edifice was largely done by him alone.

He received his degree of Master of Arts in course. In 1874, Shurtleff College conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Dr. Guild published much in the form of addresses, sketches, essays, reports, separately, and as contributions to periodicals. In the Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1895, thirty-three titles are given. The larger books are "Librarian's Manual," 1858; "Life, Times and Correspondence of James Manning, and the Early History of Brown University," 1864; "Biographical Introduction to the Writings of Roger Williams," 1866; "History of Brown University, with Illustrative Documents," 1867; "Chaplain Smith and The Baptists," 1885; "Footprints of Roger Williams," 1886; "Early History of Brown University," 1897. The last work he dedicated to the alumni of Brown University. Of the Publications of the Narragansett Club he edited "The Letter of John Cotton and Roger Williams's Reply," 1866; "Roger Williams's 'Queries of Highest Consideration,'" 1867; and "Staples's 'Rhode Island in the Continental Congress,'" 1870. He wrote for the *Journal* the Necrology of Brown University for 1891-92.

Dr. Guild was reared a Unitarian. On the 5th of April, 1840, he was baptized by the Rev. Dr. Baron Stow, and received as a member of the Baldwin Place Baptist Church, Boston. In 1840 he left mercantile life, on which he had entered as a clerk, and began his studies, with the ministry in view. In 1850 he became a member of the First Baptist Church in Providence. He was active in the work of the Church, and for many years in the Sunday school. He had a simple, firm, religious faith, which fortified and

comforted him in life, gave him a mission of blessing to others, and strengthened him to meet the final hour.

He was justly proud of the library which had grown under his devoted care from a small collection of books into large dimensions,¹ with increasing hopes for the future. But he was not merely a bibliographer and a care-taker of books. He loved his college, he believed in it; he loved his colleagues in the faculty and the undergraduates who daily resorted to him for advice or a word of encouragement.

He married, 17 December, 1849, at Providence, Jane Clifford Hunt, daughter of Samuel and Nancy (Lincoln) Hunt, who, with four children survives him.

William Sumner Barton, who on July 1, 1899, stood fourth in order of seniority of membership upon our rolls, died at Rutland, in the county of Worcester, on July 13, 1899. He was elected a member April 26, 1854. He was the eldest brother of our Librarian, and was the oldest of nine children of the Hon. Ira Moore Barton, who was one of the great lawyers at the bar of Worcester County, was for eight years Judge of Probate for that county, and was for many years an active member of this Society and of the Council. Mr. Barton's mother was a sister of Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher, the two ladies being included in the ten children of Dr. Artemas Bullard of West Sutton and his second wife, Lucy White Bullard. A genealogical and biographical sketch of Dr. Bullard, prepared by William S. Barton in 1878, was printed in pamphlet form, and will be found in our library.

Mr. Barton was born at Oxford, Sept.* 30, 1824, but came to Worcester with his father in 1834. He was graduated at Brown University in 1844, receiving the degree of A.M., probably in 1847. He attended the Harvard Law School in 1845-6, was admitted to the Worcester

¹ In 1848 the library numbered less than 20,000 volumes; in 1893, 80,000.

bar in the latter year, and practised until June, 1854, for a part of the time with his father and the Hon. Peter C. Bacon. In 1854, he secured a position in the Bank of Commerce at Boston, which he held for more than 17 years, maintaining his residence the while at Worcester. In 1872, he was elected City Treasurer of Worcester, and held that office for 27 years, adopting at the outset a modern and systematic method of book-keeping in place of the antiquated and imperfect system which he found there.

Mr. Barton was married, April 4, 1849, to Anne Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel and Mary Gould (Ellery) Jennison of Worcester; and, secondly, to Katharine Almy, daughter of William and Jane Byon Ellery of New York City. He had five children. His widow and the three daughters by his first wife, and the son and daughter by the second wife survive him. This son, a namesake and great great grandson of William Ellery, signer of the Declaration of Independence, illustrated the fact that *Naissance oblige* by carrying the colors of the Second Massachusetts Regiment through the Cuban campaign of 1898, in which that regiment made a brilliant record.

Besides the biographical sketch of the Bullard family, Mr. Barton wrote an instructive and entertaining Sketch of the Life of the Duchess of Orleans and her Sons, the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres. But his contribution to antiquarian lore which was most valuable was his transcription of the Epitaphs in the old Burying Ground on Worcester Common, with notes and references. The ancient grave-stones have long since been buried in the earth, but this pamphlet preserves the names and dates, with the other data, which together make up an important part of the biographical history of the city.

The old personal friends of Mr. Barton were conscious, before he laid down his public duties, that he was losing his pristine vigor of body and mind. He spent the early

months of 1899 among his books and in pleasant intercourse with his family and friends. On the evening of July 11 he left his house to visit the post-office, which was near at hand. He was seen, later in the evening, walking towards the suburbs, and, being accosted, said he was going to visit his eldest daughter, who lived in that neighborhood. The sequel makes it evident that he continued his walk over a rather lonely country road, still bound, in his thoughts, for his daughter's home; that when the next day came he picked berries for his own refreshment and gathered a bouquet of wild flowers for his daughter, and towards the close of that day, at a spot some thirteen miles from home, he turned aside into a pasture, and calmly laid himself down to rest. After some hours of peaceful slumber he awakened, not in the house of his daughter, but in that of his Heavenly Father. The suddenness and very unexpected manner of his death was, of course, a great shock to his family and to the community, but to the writer there is no thought of pain in such a passing away as this. He had fought the battle of life; his work was done; the transition came without pain but with evident pleasure. His end was peace.

C. A. C.

Rev. Charles Marion Lamson, D.D., the eldest child of Charles Edwin, and Elizabeth (Cook) Lamson, was born in North Hadley, Mass., May 16, 1843. His boyhood was spent at home on the farm and his early education was at the public schools. He was fitted for college at Williston Seminary, Easthampton, and entered Amherst in 1860. At school and in college he took high rank both as man and scholar, and at Amherst became positively a Christian.

Graduated in 1864, he became an instructor at Williston Seminary, and later spent a year in the study of theology at the University of Halle, in Germany. On his return he was appointed instructor in English and Latin at

Amherst, where, having decided to enter the ministry, he also pursued theological studies under the direction of Professor, afterwards President, Julius H. Seelye.

He was ordained and installed pastor of the Porter Congregational Church, at Brockton, Mass., Aug. 5, 1869, in which position he quickly showed that he had unusual gifts, both as preacher and pastor. Dec. 25, 1869, he was married to Miss Helena F. Bridgman, of Amherst, Mass.

In the spring of 1871, he was called to the Salem Street Congregational Church, in Worcester, Mass., and was installed as pastor over this important church, May 3, 1871. The exacting demands of this position he met with conspicuous ability for fourteen years, attracting a large congregation by his power as a preacher and devotion as a pastor, and exerting a wide influence for good throughout the city and upon its institutions. He served as a member of the School Board from 1878 to 1884 inclusive, and as a director of the Free Public Library, from Jan. 1, 1883, to Sept. 29, 1885, in both positions rendering valuable services.

In the autumn of 1885 the North Congregational Church at St. Johnsbury, Vt., sought him as its pastor, and he was installed there Oct. 8, of that year. This charge gave him new opportunity to exert his growing power as a man, a scholar, and a preacher. During the succeeding years he became well known throughout the State as a most influential figure in all educational, philanthropic and religious movements. He was a trustee of the St. Johnsbury Academy, Athenæum and Museum. He was active in the missionary work of the State and was everywhere welcomed as a preacher of singular insight, spirituality and eloquence.

After nearly ten years of this full and most successful ministry, he was, to the keen regret of his St. Johnsbury people, called to the historic Centre Church of Hartford, Conn., and yielding to this invitation he was installed as

pastor there Feb. 7, 1894. For this different, and in many respects, more important field, he discovered fresh resources in himself, and had there a not less happy, and even more effective ministry.

In 1888 he was elected a trustee of Amherst College, in which he was deeply interested, where his breadth, tact and wisdom were greatly appreciated, and where he continued until his death, a most helpful adviser. He was appointed preacher before the National Congregational Council in Oct., 1892; was an important member of the Executive Committee of the Congregational Home Missionary Society; and in Oct., 1897, on the retirement of Rev. Dr. Storrs, he was, to his great surprise and to the satisfaction of all friends of the missionary cause, elected President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

With characteristic energy he threw himself into the duties of this high position, and at once proved his fitness for it by the force and sympathy of his speech, by his wisdom in council, and by his skill as a presiding officer.

Dr. Lamson was elected a member of this Society Oct. 22, 1883, and received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from his Alma Mater in 1885.

His death was very unexpected, and to human view untimely. He was spending a happy vacation with his family in his old home, and among his old friends in St. Johnsbury, apparently in his usual health. Returning from a bicycle ride he was suddenly seized with angina pectoris, and died in a few minutes, Aug. 8, 1899, a little over fifty-six years of age, in the fulness of his powers and influence. The burial was at North Hadley.

Besides his widow, five children survive him: Marion H., a teacher in Boston; Theodore, a student of medicine at Johns Hopkins University; Richard, a student of law; Charles E., who received his diploma at Amherst at the

last Commencement, from his father's hands ; and Kenneth W., who is at home.

Dr. Lamson was a man of commanding presence ; tall, strongly built, with massive head and features, a glorious crown of silver hair, and a powerful voice that easily filled the largest assembly room. He possessed a strong mind, constantly growing, finely disciplined and richly stored with the better learning ; a singularly pure, candid, gentle, and courageous moral sense ; and a most eager, devoted and sympathetic heart. Though clear and tenacious in his convictions, he was extremely liberal in temper, catholic in judgments, and spiritual, at times almost mystical, in his utterance—a trait which gave him great influence over minds desiring to be inspired with the deepest truths. Few men are so modest, so unselfish, so transparent, so serious, and yet so gentle as was he. He was an impressive man, yet so natural, so full of tenderness and humor that he was a friend to everybody. He sought nothing for himself, yet every place to which, in his busy serving life, he was called, he filled with abundant, strong and gracious efficiency.

His untimely death is a great loss to the Church and the world. The tidings of it brought keen pain to many hearts here and beyond sea, and hundreds will rise up to call him blessed.

D. M.

Robert Clarke was born in Annan, Dumfries-shire, Scotland, May 1, 1829. With his parents he came to America in 1840, settling in Cincinnati, where he attended school, finishing his education at Woodward College, now the Woodward High School. After spending three years in the Adirondacks for the benefit of his health, he returned to Cincinnati, where, having first tried another occupation, he finally associated himself with Walter S. Patterson in the book and stationery business, in a small shop in Sixth Street, near Vine Street. In this establishment he met

the most cultivated men of the town, and his taste for literature and for books was fostered by intercourse with the best-read men of Cincinnati.

His business grew with years, and in 1858 he established the firm of Robert Clarke & Co., later the Robert Clarke Co. This became well known throughout the country. Our late associate, Justin Winsor, says: "The most important *Americana* lists at present issued by American dealers are those of the Robert Clarke Company," and Mr. Fiske, in his *History of the United States*, makes a remark of the same purport. Robert Clarke was the head and soul of these collections of *Americana*, and he was a constant publisher of the same class of works. The most important of these was the Ohio Valley Historical Series, comprising seven books. Most of these were edited by Mr. Clarke himself, though the reader would hardly suspect this fact, a modest "R. C." at the end of the last volume being the only record of his labors.

In 1876 he wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled "Prehistoric Remains which were found on the site of Cincinnati, with a vindication of the Cincinnati Tablet." He was an occasional contributor to the *Scientific American* on geology and kindred topics.

He was elected a member of this Society April 26, 1871. Though he was never present at our meetings, he recognized his membership by the gift of many of his historical and other imprints.

Mr. Clarke in later years gradually retired from the management of business. In 1898 he made the "tour of the world" in hope of restoring his broken health. Though better for a time, he never recovered his former vigor, and died suddenly August 26th last, in his seventy-first year. Though never married, he was eminently a domestic man. Never was there a more methodical person. He knew only two places in his daily life, his office and his home, but his round of sympathies was bounded by neither of these.

For nearly thirty-five years he lived in Glendale, a suburb some fifteen miles from Cincinnati. Here he played the part of a good citizen in all that concerned the moral and intellectual welfare of his village. He was an active member of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, though here again he almost never appeared at its meetings, but he was fruitful in suggestion, and his position in business gave him opportunities to promote the welfare of the Society, opportunities he did not neglect.

Robert Clarke was always accessible. An untiring worker, he had always leisure for consultation and advice. Many anecdotes are current in Cincinnati of his kindness to his *employés*; he was their friend and father. But preëminently he was a bookman, in every sense of this word, as well acquainted with the contents of books as with their market value. In Cincinnati, at least, in this regard, he leaves no successor.

E. F. B.

For the Council.

JAMES P. BAXTER.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

NOTE.—The writers, whose initials are given in the foregoing pages, are, Charles L. Nichols, George P. Fisher, Charles A. Chase, Daniel Merriman and Eugene F. Bliss.

THE WRITING OF HISTORY.

BY JAMES P. BAXTER.

I HAVE thought it worth while to devote a few moments to the consideration of a subject in which we are all interested ; namely, the writing of history ; especially of local history, of which, at present, so much is being written, sometimes without sufficient thought and method, perhaps I may properly say, in some cases without any thought or method, as though the writing of history was a light affair, requiring little preparation or literary talent.

Not long ago this question was put to a person of literary aspirations : "What would you rather be—a famous poet, historian, or novelist?" "You have," he replied, "exactly indicated my ambition by the order in which you have put your question. I consider poetry the highest form of literary art, or indeed of all art ; hence, I would rather be a great poet ; but next to a great poet, I would be a great historian." "I think," said his questioner, "that the popular opinion is that anybody who can gather facts can write history." "Oh yes," was the reply, "and the popular opinion may also be, that anyone who can rhyme can write poetry. I am inclined to believe, though, that the field of history to-day presents more attractions to literary ambition than any other." This recalls to mind a remark made a few years ago by a friend having an intimate acquaintance with historic documents in European archives, to the effect that the history of the American Revolution has yet to be written. Further conversation with him on the subject led me to make application through our American Minister in London, for the privilege of examining the documents relating to that period in the office of the Public Records, to which public access is not allowed.

Upon receiving permission to do so, I spent a considerable time, in the presence of an attendant, in the examination of these documents, and so much was I impressed, after my study of them, by the truth of my friend's remark, that shortly after, I suggested to the late Mr. Blaine, who I believed was intending to abandon the political field and devote himself to literary pursuits, that here was a work worthy of his devotion, and I am inclined to think that if his health had permitted, he might have given the subject serious attention.

That the field of history has been but imperfectly cultivated and still affords excellent opportunities to literary workers, I have no doubt all who are acquainted with the subject will admit; but the writing of history requires special talent, and talent of as high an order as any other department of literature. The importance of good history in the education of a people cannot be over-estimated, yet we know how the study of history is neglected. This may be due in a measure to the quality of the history which has been placed in our educational institutions. Some of us may remember how we detested the drill in history to which we were subjected in our youth, and how long it took us to be able to regard with equanimity anything of an historic nature. To be compelled for half-an-hour daily to answer questions, rarely related to each other, was, to say the least, tiresome. Such questions, for instance, as, "When was John Carver chosen Governor of Plymouth Colony?" "What was the name of the Indian slain by Captain Miles Standish?" "To what tribe did Philip belong?" "When was the cruel savage Paugus killed and by whom?" Such questions were confidently answered, as well as some others, which are now warmly debated. I am not prepared to say that even history so taught was not productive of some good, but its value, I am sure, might have been increased an hundred fold by a more judicious method; and here let us consider briefly

one method, if no more, which is to begin with the history of the student's own town. Certainly he should know something of this, if of no other history, and it is quite possible to make the local history interesting, as may be made to appear farther on, when the town history is considered. Having familiarized himself with the history of his own town, it would seem that the next practical step would be to learn something of his county and state. In this study the student will get a knowledge of the aboriginal inhabitants and colonization of his state; its organization and development socially, commercially and politically, and the relations which bind its parts together into a commonwealth, which must be of immense importance to him. By the time he has acquired a knowledge of the history of his town and state, it is quite likely that he will have formed a taste for historical study, and will be quite ready to take up the study of the United States in its divisions and entirety. The student will by this time have perceived the intimate relations existing between the history of his own country and the countries of Europe; first, of course, England, whose history he will now find a fascinating study, instead of the dry array of events which, had he taken up the study of English history earlier, would have appeared to him to have no relation to the history of his own country. Having acquired a knowledge of English history, more or less thorough, he must perforce take up the history of France, which will present to him a more brilliant field than that of the cloth of gold, glorious "with plume, tiara and all rich array," and which is so intimately related to that of England and his own country, as to make it a part of a continuous narrative, whose splendid theme is the development of civilization. Of course the student will not stop here, but will continue to enlarge his field of vision, until it embraces the world. This method of studying history certainly possesses this merit, that the student, at whatever point he relinquishes

his study, will have acquired a practical knowledge of that portion of history most useful to him, which can hardly be affirmed of any other method.

Perhaps it may not be too much to affirm that the history of itself which a people puts forth, affords an approximate measure of its civilization, so intimately is it correlated with the popular intelligence. I hope that this may not be deemed severe later on, when I come to speak of the town history. While criticising, however, the lack of method and the carelessness of many historians, we should recognize the difficulties which lie in his path. At the recent opening of the new building of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the president, and our associate, while making severe strictures upon some former methods of writing history, spoke of the many sources of knowledge which have been opened to the historian, and noted how difficult it had become for him to avoid prolixity on the one hand, or undue concision on the other.

Everyone who has seriously and conscientiously made it a business to gather historical material relating to a particular subject, realizes the magnitude of this difficulty, and how agreeable it would be to have some guide for its solution; yet, at present, no such guide exists. Histories, imposingly voluminous, are written, which give one but the vaguest idea of important events, and too often no idea at all. This grows out of the attempt to cover too wide a field, and the necessity of condensation, and leads us to the belief that the future historian is to devote himself more and more to the writing of monographs. If this belief is correct, a most attractive view is opened to the historical writer, who can concentrate his attention upon a part of the field particularly interesting to himself, in which he can freely exercise his powers in the discovery of new facts and in tracing obscure relations between events, which enforced attention to a wider field would not permit him to undertake.

Perhaps it may be urged that, as history is the orderly expression of great forces whose continuity of action give it unity, it will by this method of procedure become fragmentary and probably chaotic ; but reflection will show that this need not be so, for these so-called fragments will naturally come together and fall into their proper places in orderly sequence. Without doubt, when the ground shall have been sufficiently covered by monographists, general histories of an encyclopedic character will be compiled, with analytical indices, referring the student to existing monographs, and briefly summarizing them, thereby serving as convenient reference books for those who do not desire to pursue the study of history more deeply. Of course general histories will be written, and if time permitted it would be interesting to consider what such histories are likely to be. Will they be philosophic in their character, following and laying bare the forces which operate in the evolution of civilization, and which result in epochs of startling significance? Very likely, and such study will present a field worthy of the powers of a Gibbon, a Hume, a Ranke, a Montesquieu or a Buckle.

A well-known thinker, some time ago, in an address to a learned society, remarked that the writing of history was once a pleasant recreation, but had now become an exacting task. He depicted the man with a lively imagination, who upon a few facts, or even half facts, would rear such structures as his genius might devise, structures artistically attractive, but quite as unreal as modern historical fiction ; though it should be observed that our modern romancists are becoming more and more careful to conform to historic truth.

Since the admirable work of the Johns Hopkins University has come under public observation, this method of writing history has fallen into disrepute, and people are demanding more of the historian than formerly. The author who takes his material at second hand and pads it

with rhetoric, however artistic his work, will find a poor market for his wares. The public will no more be satisfied with such pabulum than the hungry man who comes too late for the roast will be satisfied with the sweets. Substantial facts, following each other in orderly sequence and sparingly garnished, alone satisfy the present taste. Substantiality and simplicity are made the order of the day.

It has been suggested that the study of history should begin with the Town History; yet it is a common remark that the most unsatisfactory historical writing of the present day is to be found in our town histories. Everyone acquainted with the subject must be painfully aware that many of these works are constructed upon as haphazard a plan as our grandmothers' porridge, "a bunch of herbs, such things as are handy, and salt to the taste." An author of a New England town history who begins with a sketch of the mythical visit of the Scandinavians to our shores, continuing with a *résumé* of the voyages of Gosnold and others hither, and finally gliding without apparent effort into the genealogies of John Fitzpatrick, Peter Jones, and other distinguished residents of the town, may be justly open to the suspicion that he has failed to give a due amount of attention to method.

Such a history, however, is not without value, as it of necessity records some facts which might otherwise be lost; indeed, it sometimes becomes of considerable pecuniary value, especially when a convenient fire reduces the edition, thereby enabling the enterprising bookseller to place it on his scarce list, so seductive to a certain class of collectors.

The writing of a Town History is not an undertaking to be entered upon lightly. It is indeed a serious matter and requires the most painstaking research, as well as keen powers of analysis, and considerable facility of expression. If the student is to begin his historical study with local history, it should certainly be made as attractive to him as

possible. A collection of unconnected events scattered through a prosaic narrative will give him a distaste for history from which he may never recover. It therefore behooves us to demand the very best work in the Town History, if we would place history where it belongs, in the front rank of educational agencies.

Doubtless the selectman considers it praiseworthy in him to help nominate the worthy pastor, the pushing young schoolmaster or the life insurance agent, for the latter is popularly believed to possess abundant genealogical ability, to construct a history of his town, and it is, moreover, a laudable ambition for such nominees to place their names upon the title pages of such books, and far be it from me to discourage them. My plea is for a method which will render the Town History more useful. Is it possible to outline a method which may be applied generally to the writing of Town Histories? In considering this question a few things seem evident. It would seem, for instance, that in writing such a history the first object of the author should be to place before his reader all the knowledge concerning the town under treatment, which is available; in fact, to anticipate, as far as possible, every question which he thinks anyone may be able to ask about it.

If this assumption is true, it might be well for him to start with a description of its natural features; its geology; its *flora* and *fauna*, and, if practicable, of its aboriginal inhabitants. All these are subjects of importance, which the citizen desires to know something about, and upon which it is the manifest duty of the historian to enlighten him. Apparently this should be followed by an account of the reasons that led its early settlers to select it for residence; of their characteristics, and proceedings in organizing, naming and shaping it into a communal abode.

Every town has an interesting history respecting its beginning, and often of its naming. Here is a town whose pioneer settlers, few in number, owing to religious differ-

ences of opinion, which embittered their neighbors against them, pushed their way into the wilderness, far beyond the limits of civilization, and after many hardships found a promising place for settlement. Here they felled the forest, reared their rude cabins, and planted. They were not permitted to pursue their labor in peace. The savages prowled about them in the shadows of the forest, and they had to keep ever at hand a weapon of defence against their wild fury; yet so pleasant were the relations of these isolated families, and those who soon joined them, that they called their town Harmony. Great boulders were strewn about their cabins, and the ledges were ploughed with deep furrows. Near by was a strange mound, probably of aboriginal origin, and rude implements of stone were turned up by the ploughshare. These and many other things connected with the locality furnish subjects of interesting research. Finally the time arrives when the citizens of the town desire a history, and how ought they to regard the man who undertakes to supply this want by beginning his book with a few unmeaning records, which he has found by chance, continuing with an account of a militia company, gossip respecting troubles in the first church, anecdotes of the village tavern, and a mass of genealogies as they have been picked up at haphazard? The question is a grave one, and worthy the cogitation of the selectmen of many aggrieved towns.

But to continue the outline of a method for writing a Town History. Having given an account of the beginnings of a town, the author's task should not be one of much difficulty. He should have at hand all the records and documentary material relating to the subject attainable. The gathering, arranging and indexing of such material should have occupied him for a long time, and he should from this, and such other material as he possesses, prepare a brief chronological skeleton of his subject for constant reference. He can now go forward, giving an account of

the development of the town year by year; of its educational, religious, political and business affairs; and the part which it has played in the state and nation. If a genealogy of the town is needed, let that form a separate volume, and bear its proper title. This outline of a method for writing a Town History, as I am aware, is quite incomplete. I have only intended it to be a suggestion, and if it serves this purpose it is sufficient.

I wish also to occupy a moment in speaking of some Indian words. It will be remembered that at a recent meeting of this Society, our honored associate, Dr. Hale, gave us an interesting talk upon this subject. At present, great confusion exists with regard to the pronunciation, orthography, and especially the etymology of Indian words. So far as I have been able to discover, the Indian himself is unable to give reliable testimony regarding the etymology of his language. I have questioned him searchingly and seen him shift his ground, after I thought I had settled a point, leaving me as perplexed as before. I recently spent some time with an intelligent Indian in camp and canoe, and availed myself of the opportunity I enjoyed to question him upon points regarding which I was in doubt; one, in relation to accent. In words of three syllables, the accent is almost invariably upon the penult, and of two syllables on the ultima. Thus a fish is *Nemás*; the good spirit, *Glooscáp* (*glooscárp*); the bad spirit, *árlóxeuse* (*arlóxuse*); a man, *Sanápè*, (*sandárpay*); an exception is *Ságem* (*sárgem*), a chief, and *Ságemä* (*sárgemar*), the chief. Using the word *Abnáki* I was rather sharply corrected. "No," exclaimed the Indian, "it is *Wábauäki* (*wárbauarky*). As the word came to us through the French, it is easily seen how we lost the sound of the *w*. One of the old names of Portland Neck was pronounced in the usual way *Máchigon*. "Very bad," said the Indian, "it is *Machágon*." *Piscátaqua* was also changed into *Pascátáquü* (*pascatáwquar*). It requires

patience to elicit information from an Indian respecting the etymology of a word. "What," I asked, "is the meaning of *Wickhagon*?" The reply was, "a book." "But," I said, "the Indians had no books. What is this bit of written paper?" "*Wickhagon*"; "and this bit of bark with characters upon it?" "*Wickhagon too*," was the answer. "But what are you thinking of," I asked, "when you say *wickhagon*?" "Something that tells," was the reply. This is probably near the etymology of the word; but one can never be sure of exactness. Behind what may be termed the apparent or sensuous etymology of a word is a subtler meaning which baffles every effort to grasp it. The Indian readily coins words for our modern inventions. Thus the telephone is "*archimontic-oonäquäbish*," a term complex in structure as well as meaning.

Words adopted from European languages by the Indian are often claimed as his own. Many curious instances of this kind might be adduced if time allowed. Haliburton tells us that "*loken*," or "*poke-loken*," as the word is more commonly used by the Indian guide, is an Indian word. The Indian speaking of a region abounding in marshy creeks and ponds says that it is full of *Bogans* and *poke-lokens*. There is no doubt that *bogan* is a good Gaelic word and means a bog, and *poke* is easily enough a pouch, while *loken* is good Anglo-Saxon for an enclosure. The same may be said of *hagus*, a thicket, claimed by Indian guides as a word of their own, the origin of which is beyond question. In closing this subject, I would remark that a full vocabulary of place-names, with their etymology, would be of great importance to the historical student.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith presents his annual report, showing the receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 1, 1899.

There has been carried to the several funds for the past year six per cent. on the amount of same, October 1, 1899, leaving a balance to the credit of the Income Account of \$1,012.45.

By the liberality of our President, the Librarian's and General Fund has been increased \$5,000, making the total of that fund October 1, 1899, \$44,441.11. This was after transferring the income of the Tenney Fund, \$300, and \$75 from the Alden Fund.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1899, was \$138,964.97. It is divided among the several funds.

The detailed statement of the several funds is as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$40,833.50	
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	17,443.73	
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	6,444.47	
The Publishing Fund,.....	27,594.68	
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	10,251.30	
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	5,032.13	
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,109.12	
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	5,284.23	
The Alden Fund,.....	1,003.85	
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00	
The Haven Fund,.....	1,363.67	
The George Chandler Fund,.....	567.99	
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	3,444.34	
The George E. Ellis Fund,.....	12,479.51	
		\$137,962.52
Income Account,.....		1,012.45
		<u>\$138,964.97</u>

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$4,568.71.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year ending October 1, 1899, is as follows :

DR.

1898.	Oct. 1.	Balance of cash per last report,.....	\$5,122.58
1899.	"	Income from investments to date,.....	8,017.79
"	"	Received for annual assessments,.....	280.00
"	"	Life membership fees,.....	150.00
"	"	From sale of books and publications,.....	102.06
"	"	From liquidation of National Banks,	8,700.00
"	"	From premiums on National Bank Stock,	224.00
"	"	Sale of stocks,	5,000.00
"	"	Premium on stocks,	5,000.00
"	"	Stephen Salisbury to Librarian's and General Fund,	5,000.00
Total,.....			\$37,576.42

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1899,.....	\$3,821.58
Publication of Proceedings,	694.35
Books purchased,.....	254.26
Incidental expenses,.....	282.84
For binding,.....	197.95
Insurance premium,.....	100.00
For coal,.....	310.47
Electric lights,	151.50
Invested in Stocks and Bonds,.....	21,320.11
Premium on Stocks and Bonds,.....	5,819.14
Deposited in Savings Banks,.....	55.52
	<hr/>
	\$33,007.72
Balance of cash October 1, 1899,.....	4,568.71
	<hr/>
	\$37,576.43

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1898,.....	\$36,430.29
Income to October 1, 1899,.....	2,485.82
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	300.00
Transferred from Alden Fund,	75.00
From Life membership,.....	150.00
From Stephen Salisbury,.....	5,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$44,441.11
Paid for salaries,.....	\$2,938.30
Incidental expenses, including coal,.....	569.31
	<hr/>
	\$3,507.61
	<hr/>
1899, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$40,933.50

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,.....	\$17,458.77	
Income to October 1, 1899,.....	1,047.53	
	<u>\$18,506.30</u>	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,.....	1,062.57	
1899, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$17,443.73

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,.....	\$6,266.49	
Income to October 1, 1899,.....	375.93	
	<u>\$6,642.42</u>	
Paid for binding, etc.,.....	197.95	
1899, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....		\$6,444.47

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,.....	\$26,590.55	
Income to October 1, 1899,.....	1,585.43	
Publications sold,.....	103.05	
	<u>\$28,289.03</u>	
Paid on account of publications,.....	694.35	
Balance October 1, 1899,.....		\$27,594.68

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,.....	\$9,720.54	
Income to October 1, 1899,.....	593.23	
	<u>\$10,313.77</u>	
Paid for books purchased,.....	62.47	
Balance October 1, 1899,.....		\$10,251.30

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,.....	\$4,747.29	
Income to October 1, 1899,.....	284.84	
	<u>\$5,032.13</u>	
Balance October 1, 1899,.....		\$5,032.13

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,.....	\$1,107.06	
Income to October 1, 1899,.....	66.46	
	<u>\$1,173.52</u>	
Paid for local histories,.....	64.40	
Balance October 1, 1899,.....		\$1,109.12

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,	\$5,128.05	
Income to October 1, 1899,	307.68	
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	\$5,435.73	
Paid for electric light,	151.50	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1899,		\$5,284.23

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,	\$1,017.76	
Income to October 1, 1899,	61.09	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,078.85	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	75.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1899,		\$1,003.85

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1899,	300.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,300.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	300.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1899,		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,	\$1,288.60	
Income to October 1, 1899,	77.32	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,365.92	
Paid for books,	2.25	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1899,		\$1,363.67

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,	\$568.58	
Income to October 1, 1899,	34.11	
	<hr/>	
	\$602.69	
Paid for books,	34.70	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1899,		\$567.99

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,	\$3,252.35	
Income to October 1, 1899,	196.14	
	<hr/>	
	\$3,447.49	
Paid for books,	3.15	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1899,		\$3,444.34

The George E. Ellis Fund.

Balance October 1, 1898,	\$11,803.31
Income to October 1, 1899,	708.20
	<u>\$12,511.51</u>
Paid for books,	32.00
Balance October 1, 1899,	<u>\$12,479.51</u>
Total of the fourteen funds,	\$137,962.52
Balance to the credit of Income Account,	1,012.45
October 1, 1899, total,	<u>\$138,964.97</u>

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Amount Invested.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,	\$ 600.00	\$ 600.00	\$ 870.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,	2,200.00	2,200.00	3,300.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,340.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,	600.00	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,	500.00	500.00	375.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,	3,200.00	3,200.00	3,343.00
3	Old Boston National Bank, Boston,	300.00	300.00	330.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,	2,400.00	2,400.00	3,360.00
22	Webster National Bank, Boston,	2,200.00	2,200.00	2,200.00
16	Worcester National Bank,	1,600.00	1,600.00	2,720.00
	Total of Bank Stock,	<u>\$14,600.00</u>	<u>\$14,600.00</u>	<u>\$18,738.00</u>
50	Fitchburg R. R. Co.,	\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00	\$5,250.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	3,000.00	4,710.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,	500.00	500.00	1,000.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.),	1,250.00	1,250.00	2,875.00
50	New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.,	8,492.61	5,000.00	10,650.00
50	Worcester Traction Co.,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,150.00
	BONDS.			
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,	\$3,300.00	\$3,300.00	\$3,762.00
	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,	3,125.00	3,950.00	3,500.00
	Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,	10,000.00	10,000.00	11,200.00
	City of Quincy Water Bonds,	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,000.00
	Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co.,	9,620.00	10,000.00	10,520.00
	Worcester & Marlborough St. Railway Co.,	3,000.00	3,000.00	3,120.00
	United States Envelope Co.,	11,000.00	11,000.00	11,000.00
	Wilkes Barre & Eastern R. R. Co.,	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
	Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,604.00
	Louisville & Nashville R. R.,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,	<u>35,150.00</u>	<u>35,150.00</u>	<u>35,150.00</u>
		\$134,037.61		
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,	358.65	358.65	358.65
	Cash in National Bank on interest,	<u>4,568.71</u>	<u>4,568.71</u>	<u>4,568.71</u>
		<u>\$138,964.97</u>	<u>\$136,677.36</u>	<u>\$153,156.36</u>

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1899.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,
Treasurer.

1899.]

Report of the Treasurer.

153

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1899, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 20, 1899.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

I OFFER for preservation in print a brief unpublished report of May, 1835, doubtless the last written by Christopher C. Baldwin, librarian, whose death at thirty-five years of age occurred on August 20 of that year. It again suggests Mr. Baldwin's devotion to the interests of the Society, and his rare fore-thought of the nineteenth-century needs of the students of American history who were to succeed him. The report follows :

"The Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society asks leave to submit the following report :

"The Librarian, at the annual meeting on the 23rd Oct. [1834] last, indulged the belief that he should be able to complete the Catalogue of the Library before the semi-annual meeting in May ; in this, however, he has been disappointed. Since the meeting in October, he has been engaged in transcribing and preparing it for publication. Between this and the meeting in October, he expects to be able to complete the transcript and to compare each publication described on the catalogue with each publication in the Library.

"It was one of the objects of the liberal founder of the Institution that its Library should contain a complete collection of the productions of American authors. In pursuance of this plan, the Librarian has bestowed as much time as could be spared from other duties in collecting publications of American origin. It is believed that no institution in the country has proposed the accomplishment of a similar object. The materials of history are found originally in pamphlets, newspapers and publications of this description. These exist in great abundance in every part of the community and are permitted to perish from the impression that no use can be made of them. They are, however, indispensably necessary to the successful accomplishment of the labors of the historian. It is feared

that a great number of those published in the early settlement of the country are irrecoverably lost. Until within a few years past no place had been provided for their reception and preservation. Individuals had, in some instances, attempted to make collections and succeeded to a certain extent, but the result of their industry in this respect has availed little from the fact that, at their decease, their collections have been distributed among heirs, like other property. This was the case with the voluminous collection of the Mathers; and those of Thomas Prince, which he began when he was in college, have shared a fate but little better. It is believed that the collections now in the Massachusetts Hist. Society derived from the industry of this indefatigable collector, comprise only a fragment of the whole which he left at his death. A large quantity of his MSS & books were sold at auction about 1800 in the County of Worcester, and are now so scattered as to forbid all hope of their recovery. This was undoubtedly the largest collection that had been made in the country at that time, and the destruction of so great a portion of [it] is now much to be lamented."

The following official entry emphasizes the Society's national character, so strenuously insisted upon from its birth:

"Sub Council Records, November 6, 1815. Appointed *Counsellors* for Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi Territory, Louisiana, Ohio, and District West of the Alleghany. *Receiving Officers* for Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York and Pennsylvania."

The Society's limitations during its earlier years are indicated by the following entries in the Council Records: "November 28, 1832. Voted that Col. Samuel Damon of Holden, in consideration of his conveying to the Society his rights and titles to any land now included within the wall of the yard of the Antiquarian Hall, shall with his immediate family have the privilege of visiting Antiquarian Hall at all hours when the Hall is kept open for visitors,

under the rules of the Society." And "April 24, 1833. The Librarian is recommended to permit any and all persons to visit the Library, *etc.*, from 11 to 12 o'clock of each day."

The modern method of teaching or studying history, whether in the high, higher or highest schools, has brought into much freer use the contemporary authorities in our treasure-house. While much time and patience are required in guiding the younger workers, it has been found necessary to impress upon all the great respect due to these priceless memorials of the past and the high value of the privileges they here enjoy.

The semi-annual record of givers and gifts—to the 15th instant—contains two hundred and eighty-one names, being those of thirty-three members, one hundred and twenty-three persons not members, and one hundred and twenty-five societies and institutions. From these sources have been received eight hundred and eighty-five books; thirty-two hundred and forty-one pamphlets; thirteen bound and one hundred and thirteen unbound volumes of newspapers; four bound volumes of manuscripts, with a collection of letters; five bound volumes and one hundred and fifty-four unbound of photographs; three hundred and twenty-four maps; one hundred and two book-plates; seventy-one portraits; seventeen engravings and six proclamations; by exchange thirty-one books and forty-six pamphlets; and from the bindery one hundred and twenty-six volumes of magazines and twenty-two volumes of newspapers; making the total accessions ten hundred and forty-two books, thirty-two hundred and eighty-seven pamphlets; thirty-five bound and one hundred and thirteen volumes of unbound newspapers, *etc.*

Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, to whom we are indebted for much Connecticut material, has presented "Yale, Her Campus, Class-Rooms and Athletics"; and Mr. George P. Winship has recognized his election to membership in

the Society by the gift of a collection of his own writings.

The name of Hon. Samuel A. Green will always be found in the list of givers and gifts. In a parcel recently received from him appears the following :

From the Massachusetts Spy.

At the late Anniversary of the *Fraternity of Odd Fellows* (a literary association,) in this town, a Poem was delivered, the subject of which was the death of *Massasoit*, a Narraganset Chief, a friend of the Whites, from which we have been allowed by the author to make the following extract. In it we think our readers will readily recognize the writer, to whom we have been indebted for the articles which have appeared in the *SPY* under the signature of E.

* * * * *

Although yon pillar'd dome, yon solid pile,¹
On Time's approach seems scornfully to smile,
And plants its columns, classic, chaste and fair,
On his destroying scythe, thrown broken there;
And in its halls those trophies there are plac'd,
That once the war-chief and his people grac'd—
Ah! what avails it? Time's corroding rust
Shall give its walls and pillows (*Sic.*) to the dust.

* * * * *

It leads your librarian to remark that the present dilapidated condition of the original Antiquarian Hall and its remaining wing on the south side, not only indicate the action of "Time's corroding rust," but suggests a desire that it would more speedily "give its walls and pillars to the dust."

The Duc de Loubat has added to the Davis Spanish-American department, reproductions—at his own charge—of two more codices relating to Mexico. One is known as the "Codex Telleriano-Remensis," the other as the "Codice Cospiano," though sometimes called the "Codice Messicano di Bologna." The originals are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and in the library of the University of Bologna, respectively.

¹ Referring to the Antiquarian Hall. On the seal of the Society is represented a view of the Hall, and Time sitting near to it, with his scythe broken and thrown at the foot of the pillars.

Dr. Charles L. Nichols has purchased for us "A Curious Hieroglyphic Bible," printed at Worcester in 1788. It is one of the rarest of our founder's imprints. Mr. Nathaniel Paine's semi-annual gift includes one of the twenty-five copies of his "Remarks at the Meeting of the Worcester Fire Society, January 2, 1899." Special attention is called to this pamphlet, as it contains interesting extracts from the valuable diary of Christopher C. Baldwin, a former librarian of this Society.

Gen. Horatio Rogers, chairman of the Record Commissioners, sends us, as issued, the Early Records of the Town of Providence, Rhode Island, fourteen volumes of which have already appeared.

President Salisbury's gift includes seventy of Rinehart's striking Photographs of American Indians, taken at the Omaha Exposition in 1898. They are typical representatives of twenty tribes; are young, old and middle-aged, and generally shown in full dress. Mr. Nathaniel Paine has effectively mounted and inscribed this valuable collection.

Mr. Henry P. Upham has supplied, as issued, "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents" and has placed in the Alcove of Family History Hoyt's "Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts."

In April, 1884, your librarian presented the army letters of his brothers, Captains Charles Henry Barton and George Edward Barton. The former served during the war of 1861-1865 with the Tenth Missouri Cavalry and the Forty-eighth Wisconsin Infantry; and the latter with the Fifty-first and Fifty-seventh Massachusetts Infantry. He now places with these collections of soldiers' letters, his own war journal, letters and papers covering the years 1863-1865, when he was the Relief Agent of the United States Sanitary Commission for the Fifth Army Corps, Army of the Potomac.

The receipt from Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, of his

"Brown Record in the Revolution" and his "Brown University Bibliography" is a reminder of service rendered in the preparation of both the historical and bibliographical monographs. We are always happy to add to our rich stores of college material as well as to certify to its frequent use.

Mr. Alfred W. Burrill's gift includes a nearly complete set of the reports of the Record Commissioners of Boston; and Miss Emma C. Pratt's, fifty volumes of American newspapers in continuation of complete files contributed for many years by her father, the late Mr. Joseph Pratt. Mr. E. Harlow Russell, literary executor of Mr. Harrison G. O. Blake, has presented the manuscript sermon of Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D., preached in memory of Hon. Francis Blake. This is in recognition of their early membership in and distinguished services to this Society.

Mr. Cedric Chivers of Bath, England, sends us in fine binding a work upon whose wrapper appears the following legend, "Only fule can write a book, it's the Binding o't, the Binding o't's the thing." A bit of evidence that the American sense of humor is making head-way in the mother country.

Miss Mary F. Sargent has again added to the library books and pamphlets, chiefly collected by her father the late Dr. Joseph Sargent—for years a member of our Council; and Mrs. Ginery Twichell has, by my request, kindly replenished our stock of the quaint Twichell book-plate.

Mr. R. A. Thompson, editor of *The Pioneer and Historical Review*, writes from San Francisco: "I send you under another cover, three Papers on The Explorers and Explorations of the Northwest Coast of America. The foot notes will explain why I send them. It is a matter of not much importance, but as reference is made to the Proceedings of your Society, I thought the Papers might interest you." The Proceedings mentioned are those of

1873 and 1879, which contain the articles contributed by our associate Mr. John T. Doyle by request of Hon. John D. Washburn, then our Recording Secretary. They again remind us of the Society's wide-spread influence as well as membership.

The educational and scientific material acknowledged to Mr. William G. Thompson was largely gathered by his father, our late associate, Charles O. Thompson, Ph.D. It has been classified with a view to its greatest usefulness. A collection of Washington and other portraits, with many photographs and maps are included in the valued gift.

Hon. Joseph H. Walker has presented the remainder of the edition of his "Facts and Suggestions on Money, Trade and Banking," with numerous national, state and miscellaneous publications. He has also sent to the library his undistributed government documents, from which we shall make the first selection.

Among the books received from Mrs. William T. Wardwell—daughter of our late Councillor, Hon. P. Emory Aldrich—is a copy of Salmon's Geographical and Astronomical Grammar of 1785, which bears the following endorsement made shortly before the close of the Second War for Independence :

" This volume taken from
John Bull on the Coast of
Ireland in the Winter of
1814, in testimony whereof
I hereunto set my name
Daniel Wardwell."

Two volumes of *The Boston Weekly Magazine and Ladies Miscellany* were also received from Mrs. Wardwell. The number for May 8, 1819, contains an illustrated article from *The London Observer* upon THE VELOSIPEDE OR SWIFT WALKER. The American editor introduces the reprint with the following note: "The Velocipede of which we give a cut below, was first introduced into this town by Mr. SALISBURY, Wheelwright in Water-street. Those who are curious to see this

inanimate animal can gratify their curiosity by calling at Mr. Salisbury's work shop." The claims of the inventor—Baron de Drais, Master of the Woods and Forests of H. R.H. the Grand Duke of Baden—were, briefly stated: 1. "That on a well-maintained post-road it will travel up hill as fast as an active man can walk. 2. On a plain, even after a heavy rain, it will go six or seven miles an hour; which is as swift as a courier. 3. When roads are dry and firm, it runs on a plain at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, which is equal to a horse's gallop. 4. On a descent, it equals a horse at full speed." After careful advice as to its use, the writer adds: "The inventor proposes to construct them to carry two persons, and to be impelled by each alternately, or by both at once; and also with three or four wheels; with a seat for a lady. Besides the application of a parasol or umbrella, he also proposes to avail himself of a sail, with a favorable wind." The manufacturer appears to have been a coach-maker in Long-Acre.

Accompanying the valuable gifts of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., was the following letter:

10 Walnut Street, Boston,

Aug. 3, 1899.

Dear Sir:

Rev. E. G. Porter tells me that he has described to you a rather bulky volume which I am about sending as a gift to the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, and which was compiled at his suggestion. I need not therefore go into any explanations on the subject, save to mention that it will be delivered to you by express prepaid about the time you receive this letter.

Early last Spring I told Mr. Salisbury that I was prepared to give the same Society autograph letters of William Bradford and Roger Williams. It was not then convenient to do so, but I have now placed them *inside the cover* of the volume in question. I do not, however, wish them to remain there, as they in no way relate to *Tantiusques*.

The Bradford letter is dated June 29, 1640, & will be found in print in 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vi. pp. 158-159.

The earliest of the two Williams letters is n. d., but was undoubtedly written in June, 1637. It is to be found in print in *Ibid*, pp. 194, 195.

The second Williams letter is dated June 25, 1675, & is to be found in print in *Ibid*, pp. 299-302.

The reason I send two of Williams is that they were written at an interval of nearly forty years.

I do not know whether your Society is interested in collecting autographs of early Colonial celebrities. If so, and if you would specify any which may be needed, I might *perhaps* give additional ones, if I happened to have enough duplicates.

Yours truly,

R. C. WINTHROP, JR.

E. M. Barton, Esq.

"The Tale of Tantiusques 1644-1776" appears in a large folio volume of ninety-two pages, strongly bound in buckram. It opens with Mr. Winthrop's Introduction and Table of Contents, which are followed by one hundred and twenty-seven original agreements, letters, *etc.*, and five plans carefully mounted on cloth. Mr. Winthrop's explanatory notes add greatly to the interest of this wonderful collection, which has been deposited in our steel safe with the rare letters of William Bradford and Roger Williams.

I acknowledge to the town of Lexington, Massachusetts, the receipt of a copy of its Record of Births, Marriages and Deaths, to January 1, 1898. We should be able to secure by gift, exchange or purchase every publication of this important class. The wise distribution of the remainders of such material could be materially aided by the judicious city or town librarian, whose library should in turn reap an abundant advantage thereby.

The Worcester Fire Society, through its clerk, Mr. Charles A. Chase, has presented Reminiscences and Biographical Notices of twenty-one members, with an historical sketch by Mr. Nathaniel Paine. It is the sixth of a series of life-like pen pictures of citizens distinguished in their day and generation. Ten of the twenty-one persons

named were honored members of this society, viz. : George Folsom, Samuel B. Woodward, George Chandler, Ira M. Barton, Benjamin F. Thomas, Samuel F. Haven, D. Waldo Lincoln, Alexander H. Bullock and Francis H. Dewey. The sketches were prepared by George F. Hoar, Waldo Lincoln, Charles A. Chase, Joseph Mason, Waldo Lincoln, Nathaniel Paine, Charles A. Chase, George F. Hoar, Charles A. Chase and Frank P. Goulding, respectively. Five of the six writers mentioned are to-day among our most active associates.

We have received from the surviving members of the Worcester West Association of ministers, organized in 1780 as the Westminster Association, their Book of Records, covering the period from December 18, 1805, to February 9, 1886. A letter relating thereto follows :

1899.

Sept. 13.

Leicester, Mass.

Dear Sir :

The association (West'r & Wor. West) has not met for many years. Rev. Alvin Freeman Bailey of Barre and myself were the surviving members. I think he was President and I Secretary. The Worcester Association, of which we were also members, fills the place of both old associations, and it was agreed between us not to try to revive the old meetings. At a meeting of the latter body I made an explanation, and was requested by those who would naturally belong to the West'r Assoc. to place the records in your charge. I had left them some years ago in the Parsonage library in Templeton, and Mr. Pratt has now recognized that request.

Very respectfully yours,

NATH'L SEAVER, JR.

The Worcester Young Men's Christian Association wisely binds each volume of its periodical—"Worcester's Young Men"—before presenting it for preservation—a safe example to follow.

We have added to our curious collection of constitutions, by-laws and kindred documents one of an apparently

unique character. It is "ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT | OF THE | SALEM ASSOCIATION FOR MUTU | AL DEFENCE | SALEM: | PRINTED BY JOSHUA CUSHING. | 1812." The agreement—which is dated *Salem, August 19, 1812*—follows: "WE the Subscribers, exempted by law from military duty, agree to equip ourselves according to the Militia Law of Massachusetts, and to form ourselves into a Company by the name of the Salem Association for Mutual Defence; the officers thereof when elected shall inspect or cause to be inspected the arms and equipments of each member at least once in three months, and instruct those who request it in military affairs and call out the company when requested by the civil authority, and command the same when out, and give to each member the watchword; and the place of rendezvous or alarm-post. And we do pledge ourselves as aforesaid, and hold ourselves in constant readiness to obey the lawful call and orders of such officers as we may elect to command said company:

John Page (<i>chosen Capt.</i>)	
Abel Lawrence (<i>Lieut.</i>)	
Saml. Holman, jun. (<i>Ens.</i>)	
Edward S. Lang,	} (<i>Serg'ts.</i>)
Samuel G. Derby,	
John Babbidge,	
John Stone,	
Joseph Andrews,	
Sam'l Peabody, jun.,	
And seventy-seven privates."	

I note briefly and as supplementary to the list of the Society's meeting places in Boston, which appeared in our last Proceedings, the meeting places in Worcester. The first gathering—in 1813—was at the dwelling-house of Col. Reuben Sikes, Innholder, at 6 o'clock P. M. And thereafter, when not held at the Library Rooms or Antiquarian Hall, the places indicated in the Records are the Worcester Coffee House, Sikes's Coffee House, Col.

Sikes's Inn, the house of the President, the Exchange Coffee House, Rev. Dr. Bancroft's, and the Unitarian Meeting House. The different names given to Sikes's popular Tavern were all suggestive of good cheer.

The death of our late associate, William Sumner Barton, A.M., recalls his valuable services to the Society nearly fifty years ago, in a vigorous attempt to complete its sets of Massachusetts laws, resolves, journals, *etc.*, and of the United States public documents. On account of this labor of love as well as for historical work already accomplished, he was elected to membership, 26 April, 1854.

I have been requested to ask for the name of any member of the Society who has made a special study of the use of gowns by the early ministers of New England. The Reverend Joseph B. Felt—for many years an honored member—says in his "New England Customs," published in 1853: "Gowns have been mostly laid aside as a badge of the ¹ Literati. The nonconformist elergy have, for the most part, put them off. They were used more among them in our large towns and cities than elsewhere, even proportionally to population."

Fifty years ago next Monday, Samuel Foster Haven, Rev. Joseph Barlow Felt and Rev. Edward Everett Hale were elected members of the Committee of Publication; Dr. Hale—now senior member of the committee—succeeding Samuel Jennison, Esq., long time treasurer and librarian of the Society. Dr. Hale has also served forty-four years as councillor. The office of treasurer has been filled by Mr. Nathaniel Paine for thirty-six years; and twenty-five years ago today Samuel A. Green, M.D., and Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Esq., were elected members of the Council. Surely continuity of administration has been a

¹ Vice President Hoar stated upon the authority of Mrs. Samuel D. Spurr—an eye witness,—that Daniel Webster wore the gown while delivering his Discourse in Commemoration of the Lives and Times of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, in Faneuil Hall, August 3, 1826.

strong factor in the long, healthful and useful nineteenth-century life of this honored Society.

With the greater general as well as special facilities for transportation, the Society has less to fear in October, 1899, than in October, 1849, when Mr. Haven, in his report, said: "Located in a country village of comparatively small proportions, the institution has not enjoyed those advantages which the combination of literary tastes with wealth and leisure affords in larger towns and cities."

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, EDMUND M.**, Worcester.—His collection of Journals, letters and papers, written in 1863, '64 and '65, while Relief Agent of the United States Sanitary Commission for the Fifth Army Corps, Army of the Potomac; and "St. Andrew's Cross," in continuation.
- BELLOWS, JOHN**, Gloucester, England.—His "Evolution in the Monastic Orders; Roman Work at Chepstow; Roman Remains at Bath."
- BLISS, EUGENE F.**, Cincinnati, O. — "In Memory of Julius Dexter, September 23, 1840—October 21, 1898."
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L.**, Worcester.—Five books; and thirteen pamphlets.
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B.**, New Haven, Conn. — "Yale, Her Campus, Class-Rooms and Athletics"; and Larned's "Historic Gleanings in Windham, Connecticut."
- FOSTER, WILLIAM E.**, Providence, R. I.—His Report for 1898 as Librarian of the Providence Public Library.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C.**, LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—Two of his publications.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A.**, Boston.—Three of his own publications; four books; one hundred pamphlets; and the "Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- HALE, REV. EDWARD E.**, D.D., Roxbury.—The United States Weather Maps for 1898-99, in continuation.
- HOADLY, CHARLES J.**, LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—Two proclamations.
- HOAR, HON. GEORGE F.**, Worcester.—Five books; one hundred and eighty-one pamphlets; five portraits; four maps; and four files of newspapers, in continuation.
- HUNTINGTON, WILLIAM R.**, D.D., New York. — His "The American College a Breakwater Against Plutocracy."
- JAMESON, J. FRANKLIN**, LL.D., *Editor*, Providence, R. I.—Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University, as issued.
- LOUBAT, JOSEPH F.**, LL.D., New York.—His facsimile reproductions of the "Codice Cospiano," and of the "Codex Telleriano-Remensis"; and Hamy's "Mémoires D'Archéologie et D'Ethnographie Américaines."
- MEAD, EDWIN D.**, Boston.—His "The Present Crisis."

- MOORE, CLARENCE B., Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Certain Aboriginal remains on the Alabama River."
- NICHOLS, CHARLES L., M.D., Worcester. — "A Curious Hieroglyphic Bible," Worcester, 1788.
- NOURSE, Hon. HENRY S., Lancaster.—His "Mrs. Mary Rowlandson's Removes"; and his Address at the Dedication of the Fogg Library.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—A Dreyfus broadside.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—His Addition to the "List of Early American Broadside"; his Remarks, January 2, 1899, at a Meeting of the Worcester Fire Society; twenty-nine books; two hundred and thirty-nine pamphlets; and five files of newspapers.
- PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal" as issued.
- PUTNAM, FREDERIC W., Cambridge.—His Address as retiring President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1899.
- ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, *Commissioner*, Providence, R. I. — Early Records of the Town of Providence, volume 14.
- SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester. — Twenty-one books; two hundred and seventy-two pamphlets; one framed and seventy unframed photographs; and eight files of newspapers, in continuation.
- SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His "Memoir of Clement Hugh Hill."
- UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn. — "Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," vols. 39-54; and Hoyt's "Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts."
- WINSHIP, GEORGE P., Providence, R. I.—Six of his own publications.
- WRIGHT, CARROLL D., Washington, D. C.—Bulletin of the Department of Labor, as issued; and Annual Report of 1898.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

- AMERICAN INVENTOR PUBLISHING COMPANY. — "The American Inventor," as issued.
- ATKINSON, EDWARD, *Editor*, Brookline. — Numbers of "The Anti-Imperialist."
- AVERY, ELROY M., *Editor*, Cleveland, O.—"Avery Notes and Queries," as issued.
- BANTA, THEODORE M., New York.—His "A Fresian Family: The Banta Genealogy."
- BARTLETT, WILLIAM H., *Commander*.—Journal of the Thirty-third Annual Encampment of the G. A. R., Department of Massachusetts.
- BARTON, Miss LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.

- BARTON, STEPHEN E., *President*, New York.—Report of the Central Cuban Relief Committee of New York City, February, 1899.
- BAUM, HENRY M., *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of his "Monumental Records."
- BEECHER, CHARLES E., Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.—His Tribute to Othniel Charles Marsh.
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.
- BRINTON, MRS. DANIEL G., Media, Pa. — Tributes to Daniel G. Brinton, LL.D.
- BROOKS, REV. WILLIAM H., D.D., *Secretary*, Boston.—Journal of the 114th Massachusetts Diocesan Convention.
- BROWN, Miss MARIE E., Chébres, Switzerland.—Her recent Essay on the Northmen.
- BULLARD, REV. HENRY, D.D., St. Joseph, Mo.—His "Words of Cheer to Stockmen's Wives."
- BURLEIGH, CHARLES H., Worcester. — Three books; eighty-five pamphlets; and one engraving.
- BURRILL, ALFRED W., Worcester.—Ten volumes of the Reports of the Record Commission of Boston; and ten Massachusetts State Documents.
- CALDWELL, REV. AUGUSTINE, Elliot, Me.—His "Hammatt Papers," Nos. 5 and 6; and "Diary of John Frost, May–November, 1760."
- CANFIELD, MRS. PENELOPE S., Worcester.—Eleven selected books.
- CANFIELD, Miss PENELOPE W., Worcester.—The "Army and Navy Journal," in continuation; and four pamphlets.
- CARPENTER, REV. CHARLES C., Andover.—His "Professor Edwards A. Park at Ninety"; his "Pilgrim Sight Seer in Andover"; and three pamphlets.
- CHICKERING, JOSEPH K., Washington, D. C. — One book; and one hundred and seventy pamphlets.
- COLLIER, ROBERT, *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of "Collier's Weekly."
- CORNISH, LOUIS H., New York.—"The Spirit of '76," as issued.
- DE MENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—"The Hesperian," as issued.
- DODGE, BENJAMIN J., Worcester. — Two pamphlets; and seven circulars.
- DODGE, JAMES H., *Auditor*, Boston.—His Report of 1898-99.
- ELLSWORTH, J. LEWIS, Worcester. — Manual of the Massachusetts General Court for 1899.
- FELT, CHARLES W., Marlborough.—One newspaper.
- FOLSOM, CAPT. ALBERT A., Boston.—The 261st Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.
- FUNK AND WAGNALLS, New York.—Numbers of "The New Voice."

- GAZETTE COMPANY.—The "Worcester Evening Gazette," as issued.
- GINN AND COMPANY, Boston.—Their Bulletin, as issued.
- GOESSMANN, GILE AND COMPANY, Worcester.—"Bromide of Ethyl as a General Anæsthetic."
- GOLDEN RULE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Boston.—"The Christian Endeavor World," as issued.
- GOODELL, HENRY H., *Director*, Amherst.—The "Hatch Experiment Station Bulletin," as issued.
- GOOLD, NATHAN, Portland, Me.—His "History of Col. Scammon's Old Continentals of 1775."
- GREENLAW, MRS. LUCY H., Cambridge.—Numbers of her "Genealogical Advertiser."
- GREGGSON, REV. JOHN, Wiscasset, Me.—Sketch of the Life of James Greggson.
- GUILD, Miss, Providence, R. I.—Tribute to Reuben A. Guild, LL.D.
- HARLOW, GEORGE H., Worcester.—His Second Supplement to the "Index of Cases and Records of the Worcester County Court of Insolvency."
- HARPER AND BROTHERS, New York.—Numbers of "Literature."
- HARRIMAN, REV. FREDERIC W., *Secretary*, Windsor, Conn.—Journal of Convention of the Diocese of Connecticut.
- HASSAM, JOHN T., Boston.—His "The Bahama Islands."
- HATHAWAY, SAMUEL, Enfield, Conn.—His "A Retrospect."
- HILL, Miss FRANCES A., Worcester.—Four selected books.
- HOWLEY, M. F., Rt. Rev., St. John's, Newfoundland.—His "Vinland Vindicated."
- HUTCHINS, FRED. L., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- JONES, REV. HENRY L., S.T.D., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.—Numbers of "The Parish Guest."
- JUDKINS, WILLIAM L., Clinton.—One book.
- KOOPMAN, HARRY L., Providence, R. I.—Tributes to Reuben A. Guild, LL.D.
- LEWIS, CALVIN W., Boston.—His "John Chamberlain: Specimens of the Alleged Evidence that he Slew the Pequaket Indian Chief."
- LIBRARY SUPPLY COMPANY, London, G. B.—Numbers of "The Library World."
- LINCOLN, MRS. ELIZABETH TRUMBULL, Worcester.—"A Tribute to Louisa C. Trumbull."
- LOWDERMILK, WILLIAM H., AND COMPANY, Washington, D. C.—"The Washington Book Chronicle," as issued.
- MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, New York.—"Book Reviews," as issued.

- MASH, CROWELL AND KIRKPATRICK, Springfield, O.—“Woman's Home Companion,” as issued.
- MEEHAN, THOMAS AND SONS, Philadelphia, Pa. — Numbers of “Meehan's Monthly.”
- MESSENGER COMPANY, Worcester.—“The Messenger,” as issued.
- MONTGOMERY PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York. — Numbers of “Literary Life.”
- MORSE, G. WILLIS, Worcester.—“Entrevue de Paris, 6, Octobre 1896,” a colored lithograph.
- MORSE, RICHARD C., *Secretary*, New York.—“Y. M. C. A. Year Book of North America.”
- NEALE COMPANY, Washington, D. C.—Numbers of the “Conservative Review.”
- NELSON, WILLIAM, Paterson, N. J.—His “Issues of the Press of New Jersey, 1723, 1728, 1754–1800.”
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—“The Nation,” as issued.
- NEW YORK INDEPENDENT COMPANY.—Numbers of “The Independent.”
- NOYKS, JAMES A., Boston.—His “Adams Pedigree.”
- PERAZIEL, ANTONIO, *Director*, Mexico, Mex.—The Annual Statistical Report of the Republic of Mexico; and three pamphlets.
- PERLEY, SIDNEY, Salem.—Numbers of his “Essex Antiquarian.”
- PERRY, ALFRED T., Hartford, Conn.—“The Pre-eminence of the Bible as a book.”
- PETERS, WILLIAM R., New York. — “Diary of David McClure, 1748–1820.”
- POND, WILLARD F., Worcester.—One photograph.
- PRATT, Miss EMMA C., Worcester. — Fifty volumes of American newspapers, 1871–1883.
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THE AMERICAN JURISDICTION OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON IN COLONIAL TIMES.

BY SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

No one can study the ecclesiastical history of the English Colonies in America before the Revolution, without observing indications from first to last of the influence of the Bishop of London. Wherever the Church of England took root, it was to him especially that its adherents looked for countenance and direction, and for a century or more he exercised over them something very closely approaching episcopal authority.

In the *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1708), which gives a full description of every parish in the diocese and a history of the see down to 1700, no mention is made of any American church or living. A few years later, Dr. Edmund Gibson, then occupying the see, in an interview with a representative of the parish of King's Chapel in Boston, expressly disclaimed any right of presentation to the rectorship which was then vacant.¹ How was it then that the Bishop of London could send commissaries to the colonies, and that the clergymen of the Church of England who came to this country were generally expected to produce a license to officiate, from him?

Bishop Perry, in his elaborate "History of the American Episcopal Church,"² follows Anderson in attributing the origin of this jurisdiction to the fact that in the early days of the colony of Virginia, Dr. King, who then held the see of London, was a member of the Royal Council constituted under the charter of the Virginia Company, and warmly

¹ Greenwood's Hist. of King's Chapel, 88. ² I., 74.

interested in the missionary aims of the new plantation. The charter of 1606 provided for a Council of Thirteen with its seat in England, to have the general direction of the affairs of the colony. The charter of 1609 enlarged the council to more than fifty members, one of whom was "James, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells." That of March, 1611-12, states that "George, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," had joined the "Adventurers" or incorporators since the grant of the former charter, but does not name him as a Councillor. In none of them do we find any mention of Dr. King.² The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. George Abbot, had, however, been Bishop of London during the year preceding the grant of the third charter, and probably joined the Virginia company soon after coming to London to assume that office.³ He was a strong though liberal Churchman, and published, a few years later (1617), a "Brief Description of the whole World, wherein is particularly described all the Monarchies, Empires and Kingdoms of the same, with their Academies, &c.," in which reference is made to what had then been accomplished in American colonization. It is to him (as Archbishop of Canterbury), that Smith's "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England," was dedicated in 1631.

The first Church of England missionary sent to America, Rev. Robert Hunt, who sailed in 1606, was selected by Wingfield, the President of the Colony, with the approval of Dr. Richard Bancroft, then the primate, and Abbot's immediate predecessor, as such.⁴ On Wingfield's return

¹ Anderson's *Hist. of the Colonial Church*, I., 322. Both Perry and Anderson probably found their opinion on the statements made by Bishop Sherlock in 1759, in a memorial to the King in Council, printed in Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, VII., 360.

² 2 Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, 1898-1904.

³ Anderson, II., 229, erroneously states that he was named as Bishop of London in the charter of 1609. Apparently in making copies of that charter for American use, the names of adventurers who joined the company after 1609 were incorporated. —Neill's *Hist. of the Virginia Co.*, 24.

⁴ Perry's *Hist.*, I., 42.

to England in disgrace, he wrote out a narrative of his administration, and probably presented it to the Archbishop, for the original manuscript is to be found in the Lambeth Library.¹

The next missionary to Virginia went in 1609, recommended by Dr. Ravis, Abbot's predecessor as Bishop of London.² When Dr. King succeeded to that see, he therefore found it already sustaining certain relations to the American plantations, assumed by Ravis and Abbot. Abbot soon had quite enough to occupy his energies at home, in his long struggle against Laud and the Romanizing tendencies for which Laud stood. The Virginia Company had its principal seat at London. The Bishop of that diocese ranked next after the Archbishop in ecclesiastical precedence. Upon King's accession to the Council for Virginia, he would naturally be looked to for advice, by his associates, in all matters of an ecclesiastical nature. Hence, it may fairly be assumed, he increased, though he did not originate, the supervision of the Bishop of London over the Virginia settlements, until it gradually came to be recognized as authoritative on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1616, we find Dr. King extending the hospitalities of Fulham to Pocahontas,³ and at about the same time he was especially active in promoting the contributions for establishing a college in Virginia for the education of Indian children in the true faith; securing himself the greater part of the funds raised for that purpose.⁴ Laud became his successor in the see of London in 1628, and was not a man to let slip any prerogatives which had been enjoyed by his predecessor in office. Five years later, on his becoming Archbishop of Canterbury, he procured the appointment of Dr. William Juxon as his successor in the bishopric, and soon afterwards obtained an order from the Privy Council that religious services set

¹ Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America*, III., 155.

² Perry's *Hist.*, I., 54. ³ *Ibid.*, I., 62. ⁴ *Ibid.*, I., 72, 70.

up in foreign parts by any company of merchants, should be according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and that on notice of any breach of this requirement given to the Bishop of London for the time being, he should take order and give remedy accordingly.¹

This was that dark period in English history which Green has aptly styled the time of the tyranny. For eleven years there were to be no parliaments, and the same policy dictated the replacement of the existing colonial governments by something more in accordance with the principles of absolutism.

On April 28, 1634, the patent was issued which made the two archbishops, with ten of the other principal officers of State, a High Commission, with power to regulate the affairs of every English colony in all matters, from the greatest to the least, subject as to the former to the approval of the crown.² England then had no colonies except those in America, and the main objects of the Commission undoubtedly were to extend the jurisdiction of the established church, and strike down free government in Massachusetts.

Early in 1635, Laud took what he describes as his greatest achievement yet in behalf of the Church of England,³ and secured the appointment of Juxon to the great office of Lord High Treasurer. The Earl of Portland, by whose death it had become vacant, had been one of the High Commissioners named in the patent of 1634. A new patent, to the same effect, was next issued on April 10, 1636, which, while revoking the old one, gave the powers which it conferred to the same persons, except that the name of the Earl was replaced by that of

¹ Anderson's Hist., II., 33, 34.

² Patent Rolls No. 2650, 10 Charles I., Part No. 39; Calendar of State Papers: Colonial, VIII., 1574-1660, 177. An English translation of the Latin original is given in Bradford's History, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th series, III., 456, and was copied into the records of the Plymouth Church. Another translation appears in Hutchinson's Hist. II., 592, and Hubbard's Hist., Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 2d series, V. and VI., 264.

³ Hallam's Const. Hist. of Eng., II., 46, note.

Juxon, described both by his episcopal and civil dignities.¹

These commissions excited general alarm in New England, and well they might. The grant was one of power to the twelve Commissioners or any five of them, not only to order at pleasure the civil affairs of the colonies, but to provide for the support of the clergy there by tithes or otherwise, first advising with two or three bishops whom they were to call in for counsel, and further “*Judicesque et magistratus politicos et civiles ad causas civiles, et cum potestate et sub forma qua vob. quinq. vel pluribus vrm² videbitr expedire Ac judices magistratus et dignitates ad Causas Ecclticas et sub potestate et forma que³ vob. quinq. vel pluribus vrm⁴ Epis Suffraganeis Archiepi Cantuariens pro tempore existen consult videbitr expedire constituere et ordinare. . . .*”

For any such orders, however, as well as in the case of the revocation of a colonial patent or removal of a colonial governor, the royal assent was first to be obtained, under the privy seal.⁵

The provision thus made in regard to suffragan bishops is a peculiar one.

The clauses quoted are given as they appear in the original enrolment of the patent in the Patent Rolls of 10 Charles I., a copy of which I append to this paper,⁶ as it has never, I believe, been put in print.

Those copies which have been published fill up the abbreviations in the words referring to the Archbishop of Canterbury, so as to make them read

“(Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi pro tempore existenti consulto).”

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, Lond. Ed., XX., 8; Pownal's Administration of the British Colonies, II., 155.

² Vestrum.

³ This word was probably so written by a slip of the enrolling clerk and should read *qua*.

⁴ Vestrum.

⁵ See Appendix A, and the Patent of April 10, 1636, as given in Hazard's Hist. Coll., I., 344.

⁶ Appendix A, p. 213.

Two drafts of this commission in English are on file in the State Paper office, marked respectively No. 12 and No. 13, which are indexed in the Calendar of State Papers as copies of that document. A close examination of them shows that No. 12,¹ at least, is a draft only, as will appear by reference to the particular clause now under consideration, as given in each. I present them, for convenience in comparison, in parallel columns.

No. 12.

"And to Constitute Judges and Magistrates politicall and Civell for Civill Causes and under the power & forme: which to you five or more of you with the R^{tes} Vicegerentes (provided by the Arch^b of Cantuarbie for the tyme being) shall seeme expedient. And to ordeyne Courtes Pretorian and Tribunall as well Ecclesiasticall as Civell or Judgmentes to determine of the forme and manner of proceeding in the same."

No. 13.

"And to constitute Judges and magistrates politicall and civile for Civile causes and under the power & forme w^{ch} to you five or more of you shall seeme expedient. And to ordaine Judges, Magistrates and dignities to causes Ecclesiasticall and under the Power & forme w^{ch} to you five or more of you wth the bishops vicegerents (pvided by the Archbishop of Canturbury for the tyme being) shall seeme expedient. And to ordaine Courts Pretorian & Tribunall as well Ecclesiasticall as Civile of Judgmentes. To determine of the formes and manner of proceedings in the same."

¹ A copy of No. 12 is annexed to this paper: Appendix B, p. 218.

Of the contemporary translations found in American historians, Bradford's makes the grant of establishing Ecclesiastical tribunals run to "five or more of you with the advice of the bishops vicegerents (provided by y^e Archbishop of Counterbure for y^e time being)." ¹ Hubbard, who is followed by Hutchinson, reads it as to "five or more of you with the advice of the bishops suffragan to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being." ²

It seems, however, difficult to read the Latin text otherwise than as meaning "suffragan bishops of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being having been consulted."

The official drafts show that *suffraganei* was understood at the time as equivalent to "vicegerents." A vicegerent is one who acts as the deputy of another and in his place. The commissary of a bishop might, in a certain sense, be styled his deputy, but the Latin commission excludes any such meaning in this instance. An episcopal commissary could never be styled an *episcopus suffraganeus*. The reference evidently is to bishops who are suffragan to the archbishop. Cowell, in his *Interpreter*, published in 1637, defines a *suffraganeus* as "a titular Bishop ordained and assisted to aide the Bishop of the Diocese in his spirituall function." Spelman's *Glossary* makes him a bishop who is held to support (*suffragari*) and assist the archbishop, adding that *vocati enim sunt in partem sollicitudinis Archiepiscopi, non in plenitudinem potestatis*.

At the date of the commission now in question, it was competent for any archbishop or bishop in the realm, to procure the consecration of a suffragan bishop to execute within his diocese such episcopal powers as he might commit to him. ³ During the sixteenth century a considerable number of such suffragans were commissioned, and one at

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, III., 458. This is a translation of the first patent of April 28, 1634.

² *Id.*, 2d Series, Vol. V. and VI., 264 (Chap. 36.); Hutchinson's Hist. II., 504.

³ Stat. 26 Henry VIII., Chap. XIV. (1534); 1 Eliz., Chap. I., Sec. 8 (1558).

least was appointed in the early years of the seventeenth.¹

In the declaration of Charles II. concerning ecclesiastical affairs, made immediately before his restoration, he promised to appoint "such number of suffragan bishops in every diocese, as shall be sufficient for the due performance of this work." None, however, were so appointed, and Burn, in the next century, treated this station in the church as out of use,² though all bishops in the province of Canterbury were popularly called suffragan to the archbishop.³

I incline to think that the two provisions in the patent as to taking episcopal advice must be construed in close connection with each other, and so that no special creations or appointments of suffragans for colonial purposes was contemplated.

The first of these provisions in the Latin text declares that the Commissioners are to designate the means for the support of the colonial clergy, by tithes, oblations or otherwise "*juxta sanas discrecoes vras in politicis et civilibus et hito Concilio duor vel triu Epor. quos ad vos convocandos duxeritis.*"⁴

Here we have the number of bishops to be consulted (*habito concilio*) fixed at two or three, and their selection left to the Commissioners. Considerations of local convenience as well as of propriety would make it almost certain that the Bishop of London, whose see included the capital, would always be one of those called on.

The later provision for ecclesiastical tribunals does not specify how many bishops are to be consulted, or in what way they are to be chosen, but does require them to be suffragan to the Archbishop of Canterbury. To make the patent definite and certain, therefore, it seems necessary to take this as referring to the number previously designated

¹ Dr. Sterne, Bishop of Colchester, appointed in 1606.

² 1 Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, 229.

³ *Per* Holt, C. J., in Bishop of St. Davids *v.* Lucy, 1 Lord Raymond's Reports, 54.

⁴ Appendix A, p. 214.

and the mode of selection before prescribed, adding simply that they must belong to the province of Canterbury.

By reading "*consult*" as meant for, not *consultis*, but *consulto*, the language used might also bear the construction that, with the advice or by the order of the Archbishop, the Commissioners were to constitute and ordain proper magistracies and *dignitates* for ecclesiastical causes by means of suffragan bishops; that is, by the appointment of such dignitaries for the colonies. It may be that the patent was advisedly drawn in this blind way, in order to leave the door open for such an appointment, if it were ever deemed expedient, and yet put the phraseology in a form which would bear a very different interpretation, should the people prove too restive under the rapid extension of royal prerogative.

Juxon retained the position of Lord High Treasurer until driven out by parliamentary agitation in 1641. Combining thus the highest of administrative civil offices with one of the highest spiritual offices, and also being a member of the High Commission for the Colonies, he was in a position to consolidate and confirm whatever of authority over the American churches his predecessors in the see of London had enjoyed. So far as Virginia was concerned, the Bishop of London, as such, was henceforth regarded as rightfully possessed of a certain episcopal authority, and the exercise of a visitorial and ministerial jurisdiction of this description, by him and his successors in the see, was informally sanctioned, both by Charles I. and Charles II.¹ The first step in the nature of any official recognition was taken in the instructions issued in 1679 to Lord Culpepper, as Governor of the Colony, by which he was directed to prefer no minister to a benefice without a certificate from the Lord Bishop of London of his conformity to the Church of England.²

¹ Perry's Hist., I., 74, 154.

² Memorial of Bishop Sherlock in 1759. Documents relating to the Col. Hist. of New York, VII., 360.

Similar provisions occurred in the instructions to other provincial governors far into the next century. In several cases, as in those issued in 1685 to Governors in the West Indies, and in 1758 to Governor Bernard, upon his going to New York, we find an addition of this kind :

" And to the end that the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the said Lord Bishop of London may take place in our said Province so far as conveniently may be, We do think fit that you give all Countenance & Encouragement to the Exercise of the Same, Excepting only the Collating to Benefices, Granting Licenses for marriages, and probate of Wills, which we have reserved to you Our Governor and the Commissioner in Chief of Our said province for the time being."¹

Another article declared that no one was to come from England and keep school in the province "without the licence of the said Bishop of London."²

In the instructions given to the Governor of Jamaica, in 1681, we find the provision that any minister officiating without due orders should be reported to the bishop. Bishop Sherlock, in remarking upon this, in a memorial addressed to the King in Council, in 1759, observes that it does not appear to what such a report could lead, "the Plantations being no part of his Diocese, nor had he any authority to act there."³

The Bishop of London never visited Virginia, but he was represented in the Colony by a succession of commissaries, the most eminent of whom was James Blair, the founder of William and Mary College (1693).⁴ The bishop's commissary for the time being was *ex officio* a member of the Governor's Council, after the full establishment of royal power in 1683.⁵

¹ Doc. rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y., VII., 363; Greene on the Provincial Governor, App., XX., 230, 253.

² *Ibid.*, Greene, 254.

³ Doc. rel. to Col. Hist. of N. Y., VII., 362.

⁴ Perry's Hist. of the Am. Episcopal Church, II., 420.

⁵ Fisher's Colonial Era, 270.

Not unnaturally, this jurisdiction gradually attached itself to the Church of England in all the other American colonies. The charter of 1681, granted to William Penn, provides for Pennsylvania, that if any twenty inhabitants in the province shall at any time apply to the Bishop of London to send them a minister, the person so sent out may reside in the province without molestation.¹ The commission granted during the same year to the Governor of Jamaica, Sir Thomas Lynch, authorized him to collate to benefices; but the accompanying instructions limited his choice to such as should present a certificate of conformity to the Church of England, issued by the Bishop of London.²

In 1685, James II. authorized Dr. Henry Compton, then Bishop of London, to exercise "all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the plantations," but by his opposition to the abrogation of the Test Act he soon lost the royal favor, and in the instructions sent out to Governor Dongan, of New York, in 1686, he was commanded to prefer no minister to any benefice without a certificate of his good standing and character from the Archbishop of Canterbury.³ Upon the accession of William and Mary, Bishop Compton was reinstated in all his honors, and resumed the general charge of church affairs in the American colonies, though still without any formal commission.⁴ He was, however, placed upon the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations, in 1689.⁵ In 1710, we find Gov. Spotswood, of Virginia, reporting to him in form as to the religious state of the colony.⁶ The Attorney-General and Solicitor-General were subsequently consulted as to the powers really vested in the bishop, as respected the

¹ 2 Poore's Charters and Const., 1515.

² Anderson's Hist. of the Col. Church II., 482, 483.

³ Perry's Hist. I., 74, 154.

⁴ See "An Account of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," London, 1704, reprinted in Anderson's Hist. II., 761, 763.

⁵ Doc. relating to the Col. Hist. of N. Y., III., xiv.

⁶ Winsor's Hist. of America, III., 148.

colonies, and in 1725 gave it as their opinion that a patent under the great seal was indispensable to any delegation by the sovereign of his supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹

Such a patent was first issued to the Bishop of London, when the see was held by Dr. Edmund Gibson, on Feb. 9, 1727. This was during the closing months of the life of George I., and being an act of personal confidence by the supreme head of the church in a particular individual, it died with the sovereign, on June 11, of the same year.

It was revoked in form by his successor, and a new one of similar tenor granted in the first year of his reign (April 29, 1728).

This patent is entitled :

“*Commissio Regia pro Exercenda Jurisdictione Spirituali et Ecclesiastica in Plantationibus Americanis,*”

and recites that the dominions of the crown in America had not yet been erected or divided into dioceses, or annexed to any English see, but that spiritual jurisdiction over them resides only in the crown (*nobis ut supremo Ecclesie in terris Capiti solummodo spectat*). It runs to Edmund, Bishop of London, not naming his successors, and grants him : “*authoritatem per te vel per sufficientem Commissarium tuum, vel commissarios tuos sufficientes per te substituendos et nominandos Exercendi jurisdictionem Spiritualem et ecclesiasticam in respectivis Coloniis, Plantationibus, cæterisque Dominiis nostris in America, secundum leges et canones Ecclesie Anglicanæ infra Angliam legitime receptos et Sancitos, in specialibus causis et materiis inferius in his præsentibus expressis et specificatis.*”

These powers were to visit all churches in which divine service shall have been celebrated according to the rites and liturgy of the Church of England, and their incumbents and all priests and deacons of that church (“*et non*

¹ Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., VII., 364.

alios quascumque personas"). . . . "cum omni et omni modo jurisdictione potestate et coercione Ecclesiastica quoad præmissa requisita," and to summon them to appear, and to administer oaths to witnesses by himself or his Commissary, with power of censure, amotion, suspension, or excommunication, and to appoint and remove commissaries for this purpose in each of said Colonies, Plantations, and Dominions. The term of the commission was during the king's good pleasure. An appeal from any sentence was given to those who should hold at the time being the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of York, High Treasurer, President of the Privy Council, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Steward of the Palace, Chamberlain, Principal Secretary of State, Lord High Admiral and first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury, Chief Justice, Master of the Rolls, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and they or any three or more of them, being of the Privy Council, could confirm, change or revoke the sentence.¹

There was no appeal to the Bishop from a sentence passed by his commissary; for the latter acted for the bishop, and spoke with equal authority.²

Bishop Gibson acted under this commission for more than twenty years, until his death in 1748. It was not renewed in favor of his successor, and while, down to the Revolution, the Bishop of London continued to be regarded in America as having a certain jurisdiction over the episcopal churches there, it was really dependent on custom and acquiescence.³ The rectors of the leading churches here generally sought and received his "license," though it was often approved at a vestry meeting,⁴ and his

¹ Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., V. 849.

² *Id.*, VII., 364.

³ *Id.*, V. 364, 412, 415.

⁴ Perry, I., 233, 375.

pastoral letters sent to this country were considered authoritative.¹

The first episcopal commissary in America was the Rev. William Morell, who came over to New England with Captain Robert Gorges, in 1623, and took up his residence at Wessagussett, afterwards called Weymouth, for about a year.² In Holmes's "American Annals," his commission is described as one coming "from the ecclesiastical courts."³ Gov. Bradford, in his history, says that "he had, I know not what power and authority of superintendencie over the churches, granted him, and sundrie instructions for that end."⁴ Bishop Perry states that he was sent out by "the sagacious and far-seeing Laud." If so, Laud must have acted as Bishop of St. David's, to which see he was appointed in 1621, not being translated to that of London until 1628. Be this as it may, while Mr. Morell is said to have made journeys of some length as a kind of superintendent of ecclesiastical affairs in New England, he kept his official character to himself, and did not make his commission known until he was about to leave for England in 1624.⁵ The next year he published in London a Latin poem, entitled *Nova Anglia*, which seems to have been the only substantial fruit of his year in America.

¹ Perry, I., 642. Rev. Samuel Hart, D.D., of Middletown, Conn., Secretary to the House of Bishops, has kindly called my attention to a paper read by Dr. Sinclair, Archdeacon of London, at the English Church Congress, held in October, 1899, in which the following statements occur:

"Every British subject in foreign parts was at one time, and is very likely now, regarded in law as sailing from the parish of Stepney, and every child born on the high seas is registered in that parish. This principle gave the Bishop of London jurisdiction over every member of the Church of England outside the British Islands. The diocese of London is the mother of the whole colonial church. From the foundation of the American colonies in the reign of Queen Elizabeth until the consecration of Bishop Seabury, little more than a century ago, the United States of America were part of the diocese of London."

I venture to think that this claim of jurisdiction is somewhat overstrained.

² His residence is assigned to Plymouth by the older annalists, but Charles Francis Adams in his "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History," I., 142, 154, 155, has put the facts in a clear light, showing that he only took ship at Plymouth for his return voyage.

³ *Ibid.*, I., 229.

⁴ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, III., 154.

⁵ Perry I., 81, 395; II., 600.

Gorges, no doubt, came over with the design of establishing a Church of England settlement, but it is probable that the two clergymen whom he brought with him were far from being in accord in their political views.¹ Morell must have been friendly to the extension of episcopal power. William Blackstone, his colleague, or co-voyager, on the other hand, if we may trust Mather, left England because he "did not like the Lord Bishops."

In Virginia, the royal governors long exercised jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, even in many things which would in England have been disposed of by the bishop, or under his authority. Under Sir George Yeardley's administration, the first Assembly enacted that sentences of excommunication were to be passed only by a convocation of the clergy at the capital, and presented to the Governor for ratification. Ministers not conforming to the laws of the Church of England were to be dealt with by the Governor and Council.² In 1660-61 the Assembly sent in a petition to the King that he might direct the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge "to furnish the Church here with ministers for the present."³ The best source of supply, however, continued to be the Bishop of London, and he it was who induced Dr. James Blair to go over in 1685,⁴ whose letters to the Governor, while seeking the charter for William and Mary College in London a few years later, are still preserved in Fulham Library. One of these, after referring to the institution of such a college as belonging so entirely to this bishop's province that it would be idle to press it at court, unless he should give his cordial support, proceeds to state that on account of his being somewhat out of favor then at court, he had been prevailed on to turn the matter over to the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the latter's request.⁵

¹ See the account of the Gorges Company in Adams's "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History," I., Chapters IX., XVIII.

² Perry's Hist., I., 68. ³ *Ibid.*, I., 114. ⁴ *Ibid.*, I., 115.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I., 116, 117.

The patent of incorporation was obtained in 1693, and named the Bishop of London as the first Chancellor. This office continued to be filled by him and his successors in the see, with a single *interregnum*, until the Revolution.²

While Blair was conducting his negotiations at court, Sir Edmund Andros received his commission as Governor of the colony. His instructions made him also the "ordinary" of the province, representing the crown in its ecclesiastical prerogatives. The Bishop of London, moved probably by this encroachment on what had been recognized as an appurtenance of his office, sent back Blair armed with authority to act as his commissary for Virginia, and he seems to have been the first to exercise that office. The Governor and commissary soon came in conflict. The latter preferred charges against Gov. Andros before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a trial resulted in the Governor's recall. Two of his successors, Gov. Nicholson and Gov. Spotswood, afterwards fell into a similar controversy with Dr. Blair, who was in each case successful in deposing his rival in ecclesiastical authority.³

Blair was the first President of William and Mary College, and his successors until the independence of the Colonies were all, like him, commissaries of the Bishop of London.⁴ In no other colony was the bishop's influence as strong, because in no other was the Church of England established on so firm a footing. As late as 1759 he interfered, at the solicitation of the clergy there to protect their livings, to defeat a law passed by the Assembly that tithes payable in tobacco might be discharged in money at two pence the pound, and procured its disapproval by the King in Council.⁵

The episcopal clergy residing in Maryland, shortly after the accession of William and Mary, addressing the Bishop

¹ Perry's Hist., I., 122. ² The College Book, 57. ³ Perry's Hist., I., 121.

⁴ The College Book, 57. ⁵ Bancroft's Hist. of the U. S., III., 405.

of London as their "Diocesan," requested him to send some one to that province "invested with such ample power and authority from your lordship as may capacitate him to redress what is amiss and supply what is wanting to the church."¹ This was followed by a petition from the Governor and Assembly that he would provide for the appointment and support of a "superintendent, commissary or suffragan."² If a suffragan were appointed it was proposed to give him a seat in the upper House of the Assembly.³ The Bishop responded by naming Rev. Thomas Bray as his commissary for the Province, who thereupon took the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity at Oxford, the better to support the dignity of the office.⁴ He arrived in 1700, made an inspection of all the parishes, and procured the enactment of a statute that the prayer book of the Church of England should be read in every place of public worship in the province. This was going too far, and was met by a royal veto.⁵ A few years later he came in collision with the Governor, Sir Francis Nicholson, the same whom Dr. Blair afterwards succeeded in driving out of Virginia, over which Colony he was put (for the second time) in 1699. Sir Francis, in defending himself on this last occasion, quite lost his temper, and complained of his hard usage "by a parcel of Black-coats," referring to the two commissaries as men whose names are "monosyllables and begin with B."⁶

Dr. Bray was one of the most public spirited and enterprising men of his day in the Church of England. He was active in the establishment of parochial libraries on both sides of the Atlantic, and initiated a movement in that direction which resulted during his life in setting up about

¹ Perry's Hist., I., 137.

² *Ibid.*, I., 138. The Governor had, up to this time, been invested with the judicial powers incident to such an office. Anderson's Hist., III., 202.

³ Neill's English Colonization in America, 337. Dr. Bray disapproved of this part of the plan. *Ibid.*, 340, note.

⁴ Am. Hist. Review, II., 61. ⁵ Perry's Hist., I., 140. ⁶ *Ibid.*, I., 121.

forty in this country, and twice as many in England. In 1701 he obtained a charter from the crown under which was organized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.¹ At his request, his plans for more libraries and also for schools for negro children in the Colonies, were taken up after his death by a society whose first members he named, afterwards chartered by the name of the "Associates of Dr. Bray," and still in existence. Achdeacon Huetson of Armagh succeeded him as Commissary for Maryland, but never visited the Colony.² Bray sought to provide for his establishment there by making him *ex officio* a judge in testamentary causes, with the jurisdiction, previously vested in a civil magistrate, who had a salary of £300 a year. This scheme was opposed and defeated by the Governor.³ In 1716 Huetson's place was taken by two commissaries—one for the Eastern shore and one for the Western—but in 1729, the bishop consolidated the two offices in the hands of Rev. Jacob Henderson.⁴ The Governor of Maryland, however, under its peculiar form of proprietary government, had practically the episcopal power. He appointed the clergy in each of the parishes, of which, at the close of the colonial era, there had come to be nearly fifty.⁵ By a statute passed in 1771, every priest, on complaint of his church wardens and vestry, endorsed by the grand jury, was subject for cause to admonition and deposition from office by a court of seven, embracing three clergymen and three laymen, appointed by the Governor with the advice of the Council, and headed by the Governor himself, if he were a member of the established church, otherwise by the senior member of the Council who might be such.⁶

A somewhat similar law was passed in South Carolina in 1704, for the special purpose of getting rid of a Jacobite

¹ Perry, I., 142. ² Anderson's Hist., II., 639. ³ *Ibid.*, III., 282, 289.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I., 309.

⁵ Steiner's Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden, 22, 33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 51.

priest whom the Bishop of London had sent over a few years before, as rector of St. Philip's Church in Charleston, in response to a request made to him by the Governor and Council. The tribunal, in his case, was composed wholly of laymen, a majority of whom, it was said, had never been known to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and after his deprivation, on complaint from the House of Lords, the Queen in Council annulled the Act.¹ Soon afterwards the Bishop of London sent over Rev. Gideon Johnson as his commissary for the Colony, but his authority as to the regulation of the clergy remained uncertain or disputed.²

Sir Francis Nicholson, the first royal governor, in 1720, came with instructions that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London should be maintained, "except only the collating to Benefices, granting licenses for marriages, and probates of wills."³ Twenty years later this jurisdiction was exercised by his commissary in arraigning Rev. George Whitefield, the great "revivalist" of the 18th century, before an ecclesiastical court at Charleston, and sentencing him to suspension from the priestly office for praying and preaching at various "meeting houses" there, without using the Book of Common Prayer.⁴

Georgia, founded in the interest of Christian charity in its widest sense, and making liberty of conscience one of its fundamental principles, seems never to have been the seat of any episcopal commissary. John Wesley, while there, in 1737, styled himself the "Ordinary of Savannah," but was called to account for it by the grand jury.⁵

The licenses of the earlier clergymen in Pennsylvania came from the Bishop of London.⁶ Two of the rectors of Christ Church in Philadelphia—Rev. Archibald Cummings and Rev. Richard Peters—successively received from him the appointment of commissary during the 18th century.⁷

¹ *Perry*, I., 376, 377. ² *Ibid.*, 378, 382. ³ *Ibid.*, I., 384. ⁴ *Ibid.*, I., 386, 388.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I., 342, 344. ⁶ *Ibid.*, I., 232, 234, 240. ⁷ *Ibid.*, I., 237, 243.

In New York, we find the Bishop of London recognized as the Diocesan in 1690, and early in the next century he made Rev. William Vesey, a graduate of Harvard of the Class of 1693, his commissary for the province,¹ an office which he filled until his death in 1746. The charter of Trinity Church, granted by the royal governor in 1697, made the Bishop the rector, and directed that £100 a year be paid for the salary of the officiating minister. The "patronage and advowson" of the living, after the death or retirement of the first incumbent of the parish was, however, secured to the wardens and vestry.²

We hear nothing, after 1624, of episcopal supervision in New England until 1682, when Edward Randolph, the royal Collector of Customs, writes from Boston to the Bishop of London, urging him to send over suitable ministers, and referring to Massachusetts as being immediately under his (the bishop's) care. It is significant that he adds a suggestion that great help towards their maintenance can be secured by the prohibition of any marriages not celebrated by a clergyman of the Church of England.³ The Bishop responded by recommending Rev. Robert Ratcliffe as a proper person to organize a church at Boston, and in 1686 he arrived. The Archbishop of Canterbury, at a meeting of the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations, had moved, though unsuccessfully, that one of the then Congregational meeting-houses in Boston should be appropriated for this purpose, and Randolph writes him, soon after Mr. Ratcliffe came, suggesting that each of them might be taxed twenty shillings a week for his support, and also that resort might be had to the funds previously contributed for the conversion of the Indians.⁴ During the following year, under Gov. Andros, the "Old South" was,

¹ Perry's Hist., I., 164. Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., IV., 535; V., 420, 464.

² *Ibid.*, I., 162, 171.

³ Greenwood's Hist. of King's Chapel, 17, 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

in fact, occupied for the services of the Church of England, much against the will of the society to which it belonged, and a kind of joint possession continued until after the accession of William and Mary.¹

The successors of Mr. Ratcliffe over what soon came to be known as King's Chapel were either named or approved by the Bishop of London down to 1746, and he also claimed, and on one occasion exercised the right of removal.² Down to 1729 he seems to have been conceded what was equivalent to a right of presentation, but after that the congregation presented, and he granted, the license.³

During the next year, the second episcopal commissary in New England was appointed—Rev. Roger Price. His functions seem to have been expressly confined to "inspecting the lives and manners of the clergy."⁴ In 1741, Gov. Shirley of Massachusetts, was furnished with a copy of Bishop Gibson's commission for record "in the Publick Records of the said Province," and instructed to "give all Countenance and due Encouragement to the said Bishop of London or his Commissaries in the legal exercise of such ecclesiastical jurisdiction according to the Laws of the Province under your Government, and to the Tenour of the said Commission."⁵

Mr. Price at this time was also the rector of King's Chapel, and upon resigning that office, in 1746, the congregation took the revolutionary step of choosing his successor, themselves, without any reference of the matter to the Bishop of London.⁶ The commissary made no objection, sailing for England soon after the installation, and I find few later traces of British episcopal supervision over New England. One such is a letter of congratulation from the minister, wardens and vestry of King's Chapel,

¹ Greenwood's Hist. of King's Chapel, 38-44. ² *Ibid.*, 54, 62, 66, 70, 105.

³ *Ibid.*, 88, 98, 165, 166, 173, 177. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 89, 94.

⁵ Mass. Archives, vol. 49, No. 52, *et seq.*, 42d Article of Instructions (Appendix C.) ⁶ Greenwood's Hist. of King's Chapel, 105.

written two years later, on the translation of Dr. Thomas Sherlock to the see of London, in which it is stated that they have the honor to be esteemed a part of his diocese.¹ That there were some in Boston who cherished these sentiments to the very end of the colonial era may be inferred from the mysterious disappearance of the Bradford manuscript from the "New England library" of Thomas Prince, and its equally mysterious appearance as a possession of the Fulham library, from which, through the efforts of this Society, it was, after a hundred years or more in the "Muniment Room over the Gateway of Fulham Palace," so graciously restored in 1897. Indeed, in the decree of the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London, by which the return was authorized, it is stated that down to 1776 the Colony of Massachusetts "was by custom within the diocese of London for purposes Ecclesiastical, and the Registry of said Consistorial Court was a legitimate Registry for the Custody of Registers of Marriages, Births and Deaths within the said Colony."²

That there were those in Connecticut who acknowledged, as late as 1747, the episcopal authority of the see of London, is shown by the records of the first ecclesiastical society in New Cambridge, afterwards known as Bristol. At a meeting held in July of that year a call was extended to a Calvinistic minister, much against the will of an Armenian minority, whereupon, reads the entry, "here it must be noted that at the same meeting Caleb mathews, John hikox, Caleb Abernathy, Abner mathews, Abel Royce, danell Roe & simon tuttel publikly declard themselves of the Church of England and under the bishop of London." The first name on this list was that of the chairman of the society's committee, and the malcontents shortly afterwards formed an episcopal church, which

¹ Greenwood's Hist. of King's Chapel, 179.

² Account of the Part taken by the American Antiquarian Society in the Return of the Bradford Manuscript, 80.

maintained a feeble existence until 1792, and numbered among its adherents Moses Dunbar, the only Tory in the State who was ever executed for treason.¹

The appointment of a Commissary for Connecticut was discussed in 1760, and a prominent clergyman of that colony was named by President Johnson, of King's College, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as a proper person for the position, whenever such action was taken, but nothing came of it.²

General directions were drawn up by Bishop Gibson, in the early part of the 18th century for all the commissaries in the American colonies.³ Dr. Douglas, a very intelligent as well as plain spoken annalist, writing a few years later, tells us that, while the Bishop of London is the Diocesan of America,⁴ his commissaries hold "only a nominal office."⁵ They had to meet not only the natural jealousy of Christians of other denominations, but the apprehension of those in civil authority that they might encroach on their official jurisdiction.⁶ The crown officers also were always watchful to prevent anything to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the sovereign. The Massachusetts Congregationalists were made to feel this in 1725, when the colony had convoked a synod of their churches, and the Lords Justices interposed an emphatic veto.⁷

From an early period in colonial history, there had been a feeling among many in the Church of England in favor of appointing American bishops. In 1661 it was urged as a necessity in Virginia, in a pamphlet entitled "Virginia's Cure," addressed to the Bishop of London.⁸ Sheldon at

¹ Addresses at the 150th Anniversary of the First Congregational Church, Bristol, Conn., October 12th, 1897, pp. 25, 39.

² Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., VII., 439.

³ Greenwood's Hist. of King's Chapel, 94.

⁴ Douglas's Summary, I., 228.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 230, II., 119, note, 146.

⁶ See Steiner's Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden, 33.

⁷ Douglas's Summary, II., 337.

Anderson's Hist., II., 562, 566.

this time filled the see, and the application fell on dull ears. Burnet has described him thus: "He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy. By this means the King came to look on him as a wise and honest clergyman."¹ In 1664, in the set of private instructions issued to the Commissioners for New England, they were especially cautioned not to foment any sentiment on the part of those adhering there to the Church of England in favor of an American Episcopate, as it must be opposed to the general views of a people who had so recently "separated themselves from their owne countrey and the religion established, principally (if not only) that they might enjoy another way of worship."²

A few years later, under the influence of different counsels, a patent was actually made out to constitute Rev. Dr. Alexander Murray, Bishop of Virginia, with a general charge over all the American provinces; but it was never executed.³ In 1695, an army chaplain, licensed by the Bishop of London, who had been stationed at New York, in a report to him, urged that New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island should be made a single province, which should also be an episcopal diocese, with New York as the cathedral city. The Bishop was to be *ex officio* Governor of the province, which was to be augmented by adding Canada, if that could be secured from the French.⁴ In 1700, the Lords of Trade made formal application to the Bishop of London to "obtain for the colonists the advantage of ecclesiastical supervision."⁵

The American clergy were warmly in favor of some measure towards setting up American bishoprics, and

¹ Hist. of his own Time, I., 177.

² Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., III., 59.

³ Perry's Hist., I., 396.

⁴ Hildreth's Hist. of the U. S., II., 192; Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., IV., 182, note.

⁵ Palfrey's Hist. of New England, IV., 189.

became more active after the Act of Union between England and Scotland of 1707, which, in declaring the Church of England to be the established religion in her "territories," was claimed by some to make it such in every colony.¹ Dean Swift had hopes during the next year of securing an appointment as Bishop of Virginia, and we have several letters which passed between him and his friend, Gov. Hunter of New York and New Jersey, and previously of Virginia, in reference to the subject.² The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which had been chartered in 1701, presented a memorial to Queen Anne in 1713, asking for the foundation of two dioceses on the American continent, one having its seat at Burlington, New Jersey, and the other at Williamsburg, Virginia.³ For this purpose, the society had bought, the year before, through Gov. Hunter, a handsome residence at Burlington, as the bishop's seat, and given him directions to prepare it for immediate occupancy.⁴ The sickness of Queen Anne, followed by her death in 1714, was all, probably, that prevented the consummation of this scheme. Ten years later Dr. Richard Welton, who had been secretly and irregularly consecrated to the episcopate by Dr. Ralph Taylor, one of the Jacobite, non-juring bishops of the day, came over to Philadelphia, and took charge of Christ's Church. It is probable that he had previously in his assumed capacity of bishop assisted Dr. Taylor in endeavoring to elevate another American clergyman, Rev. Dr. John Talbot, of New Jersey, to the same position.⁵ Neither ever openly discharged episcopal functions, but there is much to

¹ Douglas's Summary, I., 226; II., 336. Beardsley's History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, I., 50. Beardsley's Life of Bishop Seabury, 86, 464. Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., VII., 373.

² Swift's Works, Nichol's Ed., X., 79, 91, 296.

³ Greenwood's Hist. of King's Chapel, 80.

⁴ Swift's Works, X., 296; Perry's Hist., I., 602.

⁵ Anderson's Hist. of the Colonial Church, III., 351.

indicate that both occasionally, while in America, assumed them in secret.

Talbot had long before been urgent for the appointment of a suffragan bishop, to act under the Bishop of London.² No appointment of that character had been made in England since that of Dr. Sterne, as suffragan bishop of Colchester, in 1606, and none was made again until 1869, when a suffragan bishop was consecrated for Nottingham, in the see of Lincoln. The clergy of Maryland went so far as actually to elect one of their number, Rev. Mr. Colebatch, to that position for their colony, and the Bishop requested him to repair to London for consecration.³ The nominee was about to sail, when the legislature prohibited it, and the courts granted a writ of *ne exeat* to prevent his departure.⁴

Bishop Compton's views on this subject are given in a paper found in the archives of Lambeth, and probably presented by him to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is dated in 1707, and he begins by saying that it would be impolitic to create an absolute American bishop, as "it will give as great alarm to the several colonies, as it did in K. Charles y^e 2^d time, when there came over Petitions and addresses with all violence imaginable." "Now," he continues, "a Suffragan would come among them with all necessary power to restrain vice and keep good order, without any noise or clamour," adding that "they having been already used to a Commissary, a Bishop will come in upon them more insensibly, if he comes over by the same Authority, and under y^e same Jurisdiction as the other did."⁵

In 1715, we find Gov. Thomas Dudley, of Massa-

¹ See a labored argument against the probability of Dr. Talbot's consecration, in Perry's Hist., I., 541-560.

² Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., V., 473.

³ Perry's Hist., I., 397, 404.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I., 406. Anderson's Hist., III., 295.

⁵ Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., V., 29.

chusetts, signing a petition for the appointment of an American bishop, but there were few in New England who looked upon such a measure otherwise than with strong aversion.¹ It was the same in Pennsylvania. Nor did George I. look on the extension of the power of the establishment with the interest of Queen Anne. Bred a Lutheran, his natural sympathies were rather against than for the spread of episcopacy. The English dissenters found him their friend, and in 1718, were encouraged to expect his assistance in promoting the repeal of the Test Act.²

It was a period also of depression for Protestantism generally. The enthusiasm of the days of the Reformers had passed away. Methodism had not yet come to wake the Church of England to better things.³ Too many of the clergy and missionaries whom it had sent to the colonies were place hunters who had little zeal for anything but their salaries. They needed, no doubt, the regulating care of bishops, but there were few of them who desired it. Dr. Edmund Gibson became Bishop of London in 1720. He found himself in a position of responsibility without power, with reference to American affairs. Religion was at a low ebb in the colonies as well as at home. The morals of the people were correspondingly sunk. He preferred a petition to the King that in the instructions that might be issued to the Governors of the American plantations they might be especially enjoined to use vigor in executing the laws "against blasphemy, adultery, fornication, polygamy, incest, profanation of the Lord's day, swearing and drunkenness." In this he was successful, and we find his recommendations bearing fruit under the succeeding sovereign.⁴

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 5th series, VII., 62.

² Mahon's Hist. of England, I., 240.

³ *Ibid.*, I., 457.

⁴ Greene on the Provincial Governor, App., 254. Mass. Archives, Vol. 49, No. 52, *et seq.* Instructions to Gov. Shirley, Sept. 10, 1741 (Appendix C). These instructions

On Gibson's death in 1748, the *modus vivendi* created by the commission in his favor being at an end, the question of an American episcopate was again agitated. A scheme for such an establishment in the colonies or some of them south of New England, was formulated by Bishop Butler in 1750. They were to have no civil functions, no coercive powers over the laity, and were not to be a charge on the colonial governments.¹ Mild as this was, it found no favor, its supporters being met by the argument that if one Act of Parliament went thus far the colonists had no security that another would not go farther. Butler died two years later, and in 1758, we find his old friend and fellow student (at a time when both were dissenters), Archbishop Secker, in a letter to President Johnson, of King's College, in New York, regarding the creation of American Bishoprics, saying that it was useless to push the matter at that time, and that it had received some years before "a most mortifying check, by means of an unseasonable step, which a worthy and able prelate took to promote it and of which its opposers made their advantage."²

The next year, however, an important memorial was addressed to the King in Council, by Dr. Sherlock, Gibson's successor in the see of London, reviving the plan for one or more suffragan bishops, but advocating their appointment only for the American provinces in which the Church of England was established by law. He referred particularly to the two Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, Nevis and the Leeward Islands, and expressly excluded New England and Pennsylvania.³

(43) are, *inter alia*, that he shall enforce the existing laws of the Province against these offences, "by Presentment upon Oath to be made to the Temporal Courts of the Church Wardens of the several Parishes, or other proper officers to be appointed for that purpose."

I am indebted for this reference to the courtesy of our associate, Andrew McFarland Davis, Esq.

¹ Annual Register for 1765, 108. ² Doc. relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., VII., 346, 348.

³ Doc. relating to the Col. Hist. of N. Y., VII., 360, 365, 366.

The correspondence of Archbishop Secker with President Johnson shows that at least one of the ministry (Lord Halifax) looked with favor on these plans.¹ Dr. Johnson was urgent for immediate action. He was not unreasonably indignant at American opposition to the appointment of bishops to exercise a simply spiritual jurisdiction over adherents to their own church, and was ready to sacrifice the colonial charters which had made their governments strong enough to resist the movement so long and so successfully. In 1763, he urges upon Secker that something be done "either for obtaining Bishops or demolishing these pernicious charter Governments and reducing them all to one form of immediate dependence on the King."²

Such letters, and another, in which Johnson refers to his native colony of Connecticut as one that might "in effect be called a Commonwealth of hypocrites,"³ sufficiently explain why there was never a colonial bishop before the Revolution. There were too strong political reasons against it. It would diminish the importance of the colonial governors, by trenching upon what had been their prerogatives in affairs of an ecclesiastical character.⁴ It would also tend to abridge the jurisdiction of the colonial assemblies; for if the crown should appoint bishops for America, not only might it naturally proceed to impose a religious establishment, but the very assertion of authority in such matters, as John Adams pointed out in 1774 to the people of Boston in the letters of *Novanglus*,⁵ implied authority to legislate or govern in all matters, so far as parliament might think proper to go. In his old age, Adams wrote in the same spirit to an historical scholar, that, during the years immediately preceding the Revolution, the apprehension of an American Episcopacy

¹ Doc. relating to the Col. Hist. of N. Y., VII., 439, 446, 448, 449, 566. See *Annual Register* for 1766, 108.

² *Ibid.*, VII., 592. ³ *Ibid.*, VII., 440.

⁴ See *Town of Pawlet v. Clark*, 3 Cranch's Reports, 292; Anderson's Hist., III., 566.

⁵ *Life and Works*, IV., 66.

contributed as much as any other cause to urge the common people "to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the Colonies."¹

Rev. Jonathan Boucher, formerly of Virginia, in his *View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution*, published in London in 1799, declared that the feeling against bishops was "one great cause."² It was especially strong throughout New England. All her traditions were against the institutions of episcopacy. In an early election sermon in Massachusetts, quoted by Cotton Mather,³ the preacher, in stating the reasons for the settlement of the colony, named first the desire to "worship God without that Episcopacy, that common prayer, and those unwarrantable ceremonies with which the land of our forefathers' sepulchres has been defiled."

The founders of New England had also, from bitter personal experience, a dread of Bishop's courts, and a fear that some degree of civil power would attend the advent of any American episcopate. The colonial jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was wholly confined to matters affecting the regulation of the American churches which were under his supervision. Only an Act of Parliament could extend the arm of a spiritual court into the colonies.⁴ Only an Act of Parliament could set up an American Bishopric. Such an Act was as much dreaded by the mass of the community as it was desired by the adherents of the Church of England. About the middle of the eighteenth century a war of pamphlets and newspaper letters on this subject began to rage, the storm centre starting in Boston,⁵ and the matter soon began to assume a political character.

Among other aspirants to an American see was Dr.

¹ *Life and Works of John Adams*, X., 185.

² See a discussion of this point in Chamberlain's *John Adams and other Essays*, 96.

³ *Magnolia*, I., 219.

⁴ *Stephen's Commentaries on the Laws of England*, I., 102.

⁵ *Winthrop's Hist.*, VI., 70, 243; VIII., 498; *Perry's Hist.*, I., 412, *et seq.*; *Life of Peter Van Schaack*, 10.

George Berkeley, a son of the Bishop of Cloyne, who wrote to a friend in Connecticut, in 1772, to ask if some Colonial assembly might not be willing to establish one, under a law by which the bishop should be incapable of translation to any English or Irish diocese.¹

¶ One result of the newspaper controversy was to further a movement for drawing together the New England Congregationalists and the Presbyterians of the Middle States. A plan of union was proposed, though never consummated. During the negotiations, a letter was drafted and filed with the records of the New Haven East Association in Connecticut, setting forth in warm colors the dangers to be apprehended from any Act of Parliament to create an American bishop, and written as if it were intended for some friend or agent of the colonies in the mother country. It is to be found in the "Minutes of the Convention of Delegates from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia and from the Associations of Connecticut, held annually from 1766 to 1775 inclusive," and is there² headed thus: "Suppose a gentleman in the Colonies should write to his correspondent in London as follows." No address or signature is given. Among the papers left by Roger Sherman was found a copy (or the original) of this paper, in his handwriting. It is inserted in full in his biography by Boutell,³ who hazards the conjecture that Sherman wrote it, in 1768, to send to William Samuel Johnson, who was at that time representing the Colony of Connecticut at London, in the defence of the "Mohegan case," then pending on appeal before the King in Council. I think it probable that the letter came from Sherman's pen, but not that it was written to Johnson, who was a warm friend of episcopacy, in close relations with the Bishop of London, and at that very time was using his influence to promote the scheme for the creation of

¹ Beardsley's *Life of Wm. Samuel Johnson*, 96.

² P. 13. ³ *Ibid.*, 65.

American bishoprics.¹ It is more probable that it was designed for Richard Jackson, of the Inner Temple, who had been since 1760 the efficient agent of the Colony at Court,² and to whom Gov. Trumbull wrote on this subject in 1769.³ He received the degree of Doctor of Laws, from Yale, a few years later, of which institution Sherman was the Treasurer from 1765 to 1776, and when Jackson retired from the Colony agency in 1771, and the Assembly voted him "a piece or pieces of plate," suitably inscribed, at an expense of not exceeding £150, as a mark of their appreciation, Sherman and Johnson were on the committee appointed to select and present it.⁴ It is not improbable, therefore, that Sherman and Jackson had been in correspondence, and the letter in question is not only too formal and impersonal to have been meant for Johnson, but would certainly have been thought by him highly overstrained. It may have been intended for the Chairman of the London "Committee for managing the civil affairs of the Dissenters," with whom the New England Congregational bodies were in active communication at this time.⁵

The movement for the creation of American bishoprics by British authority, however, was destined to die in the house of its friends. In 1771, a convocation of the clergy of Virginia, where the Church of England was still established, assembled at the call of Dr. Camm, the commissary of the Bishop of London, for that colony, declined an overture from some of their clerical brethren in New York and New Jersey for an address to the King on this subject, and the House of Burgesses denounced it as a "pernicious project."⁶ The shadow of the Revolu-

¹ Beardsley's *Life of Wm. Samuel Johnson*, 37, 38, 51, 52, 76, 96, 98. See his guarded letter of Feb. 26, 1770, to Gov. Trumbull, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 5th Series, IX., 412.

² *Col. Rec. of Conn.*, XI., 358; XII., 255; XIII., 518.

³ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 5th Series, IX., 390, 434.

⁴ *Col. Rec. of Conn.*, XIII., 518.

⁵ *Minutes of the Convention of Delegates, etc.*, 14, 22, 65.

⁶ *Anderson's Hist.*, III., 252, 253.

tion was already cast over the American churches, and they were in no temper to invite a new tie between them and the mother country.

Shortly after the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the United States, an Act of Parliament was passed giving the Bishop of London power to ordain priests and deacons who might come to him for that purpose from foreign countries, without requiring from them the customary oaths of conformity and allegiance. This was intended for the benefit of American Episcopalians. Pitt, who had recently taken his place as prime minister, was strongly urged to go farther, and allow the consecration of foreign bishops under similar conditions, but declined, believing that it might be regarded as an unfriendly act by the United States.¹

Dr. Samuel Seabury, who went to London in 1783, with the recommendation of the Episcopal clergy of Connecticut for his consecration, sought an early interview with the Bishop of London. Dr. Lowth, who then occupied that see, had, a few years before, while holding that of Oxford, spoken strongly in favor of the appointment of American bishops.² He was now, however, in declining health, and indisposed to take any active part in endeavoring to secure the necessary changes in legislation.³ The Archbishops received Dr. Seabury with even greater coolness, and he contented himself with obtaining consecration at the hands of the non-juring Jacobite bishops of Scotland. One of them, Dr. Skinner, preached a sermon on the occasion, in which he said that the successors of the Apostles were bound by their commission, to contribute to the spread of the Church, without restraint from fear of worldly censure or dependence on any government whatever, adding that as for the Scottish clergy, they

¹ Beardsley's *Life of Wm. Samuel Johnson*, 99; Beardsley's *Life of Bishop Seabury*, 133, 173, 229.

² Anderson's *Hist.*, III., 257, note.

³ Beardsley's *Life of Seabury*, 120.

had been accustomed to show more regard to the Acts of the Apostles than to the Acts of the British Parliament.¹ The discourse was published, though without the author's name, and elicited an anonymous letter, signed "a dignified clergyman of the Church of England," addressed in 1785 to the *primus* of the Scottish episcopate, Dr. Kilgour, which justly and temperately criticised the covert fling at the English bishops for having held aloof from Dr. Seabury. It is attributed by high authority to Bishop Lowth, and, if written by him, was the last important act of the Bishop of London, with reference to what had been the principal part of his American charge. A year or two later, he joined, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a memorial to the King, which led to the creation of the first Anglican bishopric in America, or indeed any British colony, that of Nova Scotia, in 1787.²

¹ Beardsley's *Life of Seabury*, 182, 186.

² *American Hist. Review*, I., 312.

APPENDIX A.

Copy of the original Patent of April 28, 1634, made in 1899 by Arthur F. Heintz of St. Agnes, Fensgate's Road, Redhill, Surrey.

PATENT ROLL, No. 2650,

10 CHARLES I. PART 9.

No. 3 back of the Roll.

Com & Rex Rē Reverendissimo in Xpo p̄ri & p̄dile
chiep̄o & p̄p̄osideli Consiliai n̄ro Willm̄ p̄videncia
dictina Cantuariensi Archiep̄o totius Angl̄
Primat̄ & metropolitano p̄dile & p̄p̄osideli
Consiliai n̄ro Thome D̄no Coventry magni si-
gilli n̄ri Angl̄ Custodē Reverendissimo in Xpo
p̄ri p̄dile & p̄p̄osideli Consiliai n̄ro Ric̄o
p̄videncia divina Eborac̄ensi Archiep̄o Angl̄
Primat̄ & metropolitano p̄dile & p̄p̄osideli
by Consanguineis & Consiliai n̄ris Ric̄o
Comit̄ Portland summo Thesaurar̄ n̄ro Angl̄
Henr̄ Comit̄ Manchester Priorat̄ Sigilli n̄ri
Custodē Thome Comit̄ Arrundell & Henr̄ Comit̄
Marciell Angl̄ Edro Comit̄ Dor̄ Camerar̄
p̄charissimae Consortis n̄re Regine & d̄it̄es
& fidelibz Consiliai n̄ris Francisc̄o D̄no
Cottington Cancellar̄ & Subthesaurar̄. T̄c̄is
n̄ri Thome Admonit̄ mit̄ Thesaurar̄ hospitii
n̄ri Henr̄ Fane mit̄ contrōlulator̄ eiusdem
hospitii n̄ri Joh̄i Coke mit̄ Secretar̄ n̄r
primar̄ vni & Francisc̄o Windesbarke mit̄
Secretar̄ n̄r primar̄ alteri salt̄m Cum
subditore n̄ro & nup̄ p̄ris n̄ri An̄i Jacobi
nup̄ Regi Angl̄ memorie recolende nonnulli
Regia l̄cen̄ mediante Imperii n̄ri Territoria
non tantum dilabande studio sed p̄cipue
ex pio & religioso D̄ni n̄ri Jesu Xpi ewange-
liū p̄p̄ogandi affectu & desiderio copiosas
gentes Anglicane Colonias summa industria &
magis expens̄ in diuersas mundi plagas in-
cultas penitus & incolae vacuas vel a
Barbaris

Barbaris nullam diuinae nominis noticiam
 fientibus occupatē deducere fecerunt. Nos eorum
 tranquillitate populi valentes gēre & quide
 vīmque fide & scientia iusticia & quida circum
 spiciōs planius confidentes Constitutiones vos
 p̄dicti Archiep̄um Cantuari dñm Custos mag.
 ni Sigilli n̄ri Angl̄ Eboracens Archiep̄um
 dñm Thesaurari n̄ri Angl̄ dñm Custos Privati
 Sigilli n̄ri Comit̄ Marchessall Angl̄ Edm̄
 Comit̄ Dor̄ Franciscum dñm Bottington Tho.
 mam Almonde m̄it̄ Henricum Fane m̄it̄ J̄thm
 Coke m̄it̄ & Franciscum Windbanke m̄it̄ &
 quolibet quinq; vel plures v̄m Commissionari
 n̄ros & vos & quibuscūq; quinq; vel plurib; v̄m
 dam? & comission? potestatem ad Regimen
 & tutamen dñarū Coloniarū deducere vel
 que gentis Anglicane imperio fuerint in
 partib; h̄m̄arū deducte leges constitucōes &
 ordinacōes seu ad publicum Coloniarū illarū
 statum seu ad privatam singulorū utilitatem
 p̄tinentes corp̄ Cras bona debita & successio
 nem in eisdem partib; contineri ac qualib;
 invicem & erga principes ext̄os corp̄ po
 puli. Nos eciam & subditos n̄ros tam in
 partib; ext̄is quibuscūq; q̄m in mari in
 partes illas vel retro navigando se gerant
 vel que ad sustentacōem v̄leri regimen
 vel curam aīarū populi in p̄tib; illis de
 gentis exercentis congruas portōes in deci
 mis oblatōib; aliisq; p̄rentib; designando
 spectant iuxta sanas discretōes v̄ras in
 politicis & civilib; & t̄tib; Concilio duorū vel
 triū Ep̄orū quos ab vos convocandos duxeritis
 necessarios in lecticis & colere portōes de
 nant condendi facienti & edenti ac in
 legum constitucōe ordinacōe illarū violatorū
 penas

penas & multas impositionem incarcerationem
& ad quolibet coercionem etiam potest
& de cetero qualiter existit p. membri vel vte
privacionem infligendas providere cum potes-
tate etiam nro attributo assensu gubernatoris
& pfectos Coloniarum illi a locis suis amovere
ex causis que vobis titime vire fuerint -
aliisq. eorum loco constituere ac de eis ratione
pfecture & regiminis suorum ex parte & quos culpa-
biles inventitis vel a loci privacione multare
imposicionem de bonis eorum in parte illi levare
vel abdicacionem a principibus illis quibus pferant vel
alibi secundum quantitatem delicti castigare iudices
& magistratus politicos & civiles ad causas civiles
& cum potestate & sub forma qua vobis quinq. vel
pluribus vrm videbit expedire de iudices magis-
tratus & dignitates ad causas ecclesiarum &
sub potestate & forma qua vobis quinq. vel plu-
ribus vrm. Episcopus Suffraganeus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis
& tempore eorum consulto videbit expedire
constituere & ordinare curiasq. pctorias &
Tribunalia tam ecclesiarum quam Civilium iudiciorum
formas & procedendi modos in eisdem & ab
eis appellandi in causis & negociis tam
criminalibus quam Civilibus personalibus realibus
& mixtis & pctoriis seu de c. p. & bono
constituendi & quo crimina delicta vel accu-
satus contract vel imperio ad forum ecclesiarum
et que ad forum civile & pctorium spectare
debeant de c. minare. Provisis tamen qd. leges
ordinaciones & constituciones hmoi. executioni non
mandentur quousq. assensus nri erit ad-
hibeat. Regius in scriptis sub signet nro
Signet ad minus & hmoi assensu attributo
sup. publice promulgatis in provinciis in quibus
sunt exequende leges ordinaciones & constituciones
- illas

illas plenam juris firmitate adipisci &
 ab omibz quoz intellere potest inviolabiliter
 observari volum? & mandam? liceat tamen
 vobz quinqz vel pluribz vrm et p'dict est leges
 constitutiones & ordinationes sic etiam licet
 promulgat fuerint a veniens nro Regis mutare, re-
 vocare & abrogare aliozqz novas in forma p'dicta
 de tempore in tempus facere & alere et p'dict est
 novoz emergentibz malis vel p'iculis nova appo-
 -nere remedia p'ut deest toties quociens expedierit
 vobz videbit? & necessarium Sciatis vltimus qd
 constitutionum? vos & quolibet quinqz & plures
 vrm p'fat Willm Archiep'm Cantuar Thomam
 dnm Coventry magni Sigilli nri Regis Cisterciensis
 Ricm Eboracens Archiep'm Ricm Comitum Port-
 -land Henricum Comitum Marchiar Thomam Come-
 -tem Arundell & Luce Ricm Comitum Dorset
 -ciscum dnm Cottingham Thomam Elmonds mit
 Henr Fane mit p'tem Coke mit & Franciscum
 Winklebande mit Comissionariis nris ad au-
 -dicnd? & Curand? iuxta sanas discretiones
 vras omnesqz querelas sive cont' Colonias
 ipsas seu eoz p'fectos vel gubernatores ad
 instantiam partis p'vate vel ad delationem
 de injuriis hinc vel inde int' ipsas vel
 ipoz membr. aliquos allat movendas p'artibz
 coram vobz evocare ac p'tibz vel eoz p'curatoribz
 hinc & inde auditis plenam justicie complacitam
 exhibent Dantes vobz & quibzlibet quinqz vel
 pluribz vrm qd sive p'as Colonias p'dict
 vel aliquem Prefectorum eoz ditiones alienas
 iniuste possident vel usurpando vel in-
 -vicem seipos quicquid seu nobz rebelles
 a fide nre subltando aut mandatis nris
 non obtemperantes inventis nobz prius in
 hac parte consultis Colonias hmoi &
 p'fectos

pfectos eorū ob causas pfect vel alius pntis
 de causis vel in Angliam redire aut ad alia
 loca designanda divertere mandare pntis
 sanas discretiones vras equū pntium vel ne-
 cessariū videbit? Dam? in sup vob & quibuscūq;
 quinq; vel plurib; vrm potestatem & man-
 datum spiale ad vnia Cartas trias patentes
 & rescripta Regia de Regionib; Provinciis Insub;
 vel Eris in partib; ecclis Colonias de dican-
 tib; concess coram vob. duos faciant insp
 inspectis si que eorū surreptiue vel indebite
 obtent vel p eadem pvtlegia libertates vel
 pvtatiue nob & Coronc nre vel principib;
 ecclis nocina & pndicialia indulta vel
 concessa fuine vob quinq; vel plurib; vrm
 innoteriat ea scdm legem & consuetudinem
 regni nre lngt reuocari ptere collap; apen-
 di que ab eipman salutare & tutamen
 Coloniarū pdict & Subditorū nrorū in eisdem
 residen fuer necessariū Et ideo vob man-
 dam? qd circa pmissa ad dies & loca que
 ab hoc puiditis diligenti silis intendentes
 pnt decet Precipiend eciam & pmit in-
 iungend dam? in mandatis omib; & singulis
 pfectis Provinciorū in quas Colonia pdict
 deducte sint. vel fuerint & singulis de Colo-
 niis ipis & aliis quorū in hac parte indet qd
 vob in pmissis sint intendentes mandatiq;
 vris in eisdem ottemperantes & obedientes
 quociens & pnt ex parte nra fuer respiciat
 piculo incumben In cuius rei Rō F Rō
 apud Westm nreanno octauo die Aprilis
 p hoc de pvnato Sigillo. "

APPENDIX B.

Draft in English of Patent of April, 28, 1634 (calendared as a copy of the Patent,) preserved in the "State Papers, Colonial."

Transcribed in 1899, by Arthur F. Heintz, of St. Agnes, Fengate's Road, Redhill, Surrey.

State Papers. Colonial, 1574-1660. Vol. viii. No. 12.

"A Commlssion for y^e makelinge Lawes & orderes for Government of English Colonies planted in Forraigne parts.

Dated xxviii Aprillis An^o Caroli Regis, x^{mo} Añoq. Dñi 1634.

Charles by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c To the most reverend Father in God our welbeloved and most faithfull Councillor Willlam by Divine Providence Archb^{pp} of Canterburie of all England Primate and Metropolitan, our welbeloved and most faithfull Cuncello^r Thomas Lord Coventry Lord Keeper of the greate Seale of England The most reverend Father in Christ our welbeloved and faithfull Cuncello^r Richard by Divine Providence Archb^{pp} of Yorke Primate and Metropolitan, our welbeloved & most faithfull Cozens and Cuncello^r Richard Earle of Portland o^r high Trer of England, Henry Earle of Manchester, Lord Keeper of our Privie Seale Thomas Earle of Arundell and Surrey Earle Marshall of England, Edward Earle of Dorsett, Chamberlaine to o^r most deare Consort the Queene, And our welbeloved and faithfull Cuncello^r Fraunces Lord Cottington Chancello^r and Under Treasuro^r of our Exchequer, S^r Thomas Edmonds knight Treasurer of o^r Howshold, S^r Henry Fane Knight Comptroller of the same Howshold, S^r John Coke Knight one of our Privie Secretaries and S^r Frauncis Windebancke Knight one of our Privie Secretaries Greeting. Whereas very manie of our Subjects and of our late Fathers of blessed memorie our Sovereigne Lord James King of England by meanes of Lycence Royall, not onlie with desire of enlarginge y^e Territories of o^r Empire but cheifely out of a pious and religious affection and desire of propagatinge the Ghospell of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, have planted large Colonies of the English Nation in divers parts of the world altogether unmanured and voyde of Inhabitants, or occupied of the barbarous people that have noe knowledge of Divine wor^{pp}. Wee being willing gracioslie to provide a remedie for the tranquillitie and quietnes of those people and being very Confident of your faith Wisdome Justice and provident Circumspection have constituted you the aforesaid Arch^{pp} of Canterbury Lord Keeper of the greate Seale of England The Archb^{pp} of Yorke, The Lord Treasuro^r of England Lord Keeper of the Privie Seale, The Earle Marshall of England, Edward Earle of Dorsett, Frauncis Lord Cottington S^r Thomas Edmonds Knight S^r Henry Fane Knight S^r John Coke Knight and S^r Frauncis Windebancke Knight or any five or more of yo^r o^r Commissioners And to you five or more of yo^r Wee doe give and committ Power for the Government and safetie of the said Colonies drawne, or w^{ch} out of the English Nation into those partes shalbe drawne, to make Lawes Constitutions & Ordinances pertayning

either to the publique State of those Colonies or the private proffit of them and concerning the lands Goods debtes and Succession in those partes and how they shall demeane themselves towards forraigne Princes and their people, or how they shall beare themselves towards us and our Subjectes aswell in any forraigne Partes whatsoever, or on y^e Seas in those partes or in their retorne saylinge home, or which may appertaine to y^e maintenance of the Clergie Government, or to the cure of Soules amonge the people living and exercising Trade in those partes by designing out congruent portions arising in Tithes oblations and other thinges there accordinge to your sound discretions in politicall and Civill Causes, and by having the advise of twooe or three B^{ps} for the settlinge, makeing and ordering of the business for designing necessarie Ecclicall and Clergie portions, which yo^e shall cause to be called and taken to yo^e, and to make provision against the Violators of those Lawes Constitutions and Ordinances by imposinge penalties & mulctes imprisonm^t (if there be cause and that the qualitie of the offence doe require it by deprivation of member or life to be inflicted) with power also (our assent being had) to remove and displace y^e Governo^r or Rulers of those Colonies for causes which to yo^e shall seeme lawfull, and others in their stead to Constitute, and to require an Accompt of their Rule and Government. And whome yo^e shall finde culpable, either by deprivation from the Place or by Imposition of a mulct upon the Goods of them in those Partes to be levied or banishment from the Provinces in which they have been Governo^r, or otherwise to Chastice according to the qualitie of the fault. And to Constitute Judges & Magistrates politicall and civell for Civill Causes and under the power & forme; which to yo^e five or more of yo^e with the B^{ps} Vicegerentes (provided by the Arch^b of Canterburie for the time beinge) shall seeme expedient. And to ordayne Courtes Pretorian and Tribunall as well Ecclicall as Civell of Judgmentes to determine of the forme and manner of proceeding in the same. And of appealing from them in matters and causes aswell Cryminall as Civill, Personall reall and mixt. And to y^e Seates of Justice what may be equally and well ordered and what crymes, fautes or excesse of Contractes or injuries ought to belonge to y^e Ecclicall Courte and Seate of Justice. Provided Neverthelesse That the Lawes Ordinances and Constitutions of this kind shall not be put in Execution before o^r assent be had thereunto in writing under o^r Signet signed at least. And this Assent being had thereunto and the same publiquely proclaymed in y^e Provinces in which they are to be executed. Wee will and Command that those Lawes Ordinances and Constitutions more fully to obtayne strength and be confirmed shalbe inviolable observed of all men whome they shall concerne. Notwithstanding it shalbe lawfull for yo^e five or more of yo^e as is aforesaid (although those Lawes Constitutions and Ordinances shalbe proclaymed with o^r Royall Assent) to change revoke and abrogate them and other new ones in forme aforesaid from time to time to frame and make as is aforesaid and to new evils arisinge or daungers to applie new remedies as is fitting soe often as to yo^e shall

seeme expedient. Furthermore yoⁿ shall understand that wee have Constituted yoⁿ or every five of yoⁿ the aforesaid Archb^{pp} of Canterbury Thomas Lord Coventrie, Lord Keeper of the greate Seale of England, Richard Archb^{pp} of Yorke, Richard Earle of Portland Henry Earle of Manchester, Thomas Earle of Arundell & Surrey Edward Earle of Dorsett, Frauncis Lord Cottington S^r Thomas Edmondes knight S^r Henry Fane knight, S^r John Coke knight and S^r Fraunces Windebancke knight o^r Commissioners to heare and determine accordinge to yo^r sound discretions all manner of Complaintes either against those Colonies or the Rulers & Governo^{rs} at the instance of the parties greived or at the Accusation brought from hence or from thence betweene them and their members to be moved, and to call y^e parties before yoⁿ, and to the Parties and their Procurators from hence or from thence being heard, the full complement of justice to be exhibited. Giving unto yoⁿ or any five or more of yoⁿ Power that if yoⁿ shall finde any of the Colonies aforesaid or any of the Chiefe Rulers upon the jurisdiction of others by unjust Possession or Usurpation or one against another makinge greivance, or in Rebellion against us, or withdrawing from o^r Allegiance or o^r Mandates not obeying (consultation first with us in that case had) to cause those Colonies or the Rulers of them for the Causes aforesaid either to return to England or to Comand them to other Places designed even as according to your sound discretions it shall seeme to stand with equitie justice and necessitie.

Moreover Wee doe give unto yoⁿ or any five or more of yoⁿ power and especiall comand over all the Charters & Leters Patentes and Rescriptes Royall of the Regions Provinces Islandes or Lands in other Partes graunted raising Colonies to cause them to be brought before yoⁿ and the same being reviewed if any surreptiously or unduely hath bine obtayned, or that by y^e same Priviledges, Liberties or Prerogatives hurtfall to us or o^r Crowne or to forraigne Princes have bene prejudicallly suffered & graunted, the same being better made knowne unto yoⁿ five or more of yoⁿ to commaund them according to the Lawes and Customes of England to bee revoked, and to doe such other thinges which to y^e Government profit and safeguard of the aforesaid Colonies and of o^r Subjectes resident in the same shalbe necessarie.

And therefore wee doe Commaund yoⁿ that about the premises at dayes and times which for thes thinges yoⁿ shall make provision that yoⁿ be dilligent in accordance as it becometh yoⁿ Giving in Precept also and firmly enjoyninge Wee doe give Comand to all & singuler Chiefe Rulers of Provinces into which the Colonies aforesaid have bine drawn, or shalbe drawne and concerning y^e Colonies themselves & concerning others that have any interest therein that they give attendance upon yoⁿ and be observant & obedient to yoⁿ warrantes in those Affaires as often as need shall require and even as in o^r name.

In testimonie whereof wee have caused these o^r Letters to be made Patentes Wittnesse o^r selfe at Westminster the 28th day of Aprill in y^e 10th yeare of o^r Raigne.

By Writt from the Privy Seale.
Willis.

APPENDIX C.

Extract from the Instructions to Gov. Shirley, in 1741.

Mass. Archives Vol. 49. Numbers 52 *et seq.* (42nd Instruction and part of 43rd).

" By the Lords Justices.

Instructions to William Shirley, Esq^r. His Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province and Territory of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in America, Given at Whitehall the Tenth day of September, 1741, in the fifteenth year of His Majesty's Reign.

* * * * *

42. His Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant unto the Right Reverend Father in God, Lord Bishop of London, a Commission under the Great Seal of Great Britain, whereby he is impowered to execute Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by himself, or by such Commissaries as he shall appoint in the sev^l Plantations in America. It is His Majesty's Will & Pleasure that you give all Countenance and due Encouragement to the said Bishop of London or his Commissaries in the legal exercise of such Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, according to the Laws of the Province under your Government, and to the tenour of the said Commission, a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed; and that you do cause the said Commission to be forthwith registred in the publick Records of the said Province.

43. The said Lord Bishop of London having presented a Petition to His late Majesty, humbly beseeching him to send Instructions to the Gov^{rs} of all the several Plantations in America, That they cause all the Laws already made against Blasphemy, Prophaneness, Adultery, Fornication, Polygamy, Incest, Prophanation of the Lord's Day, swearing and Drunkenness in their respective Governments, to be vigorously executed; and His Majesty thinking it highly Just, that all Persons who shall offend in any of the Particulars aforesaid, should be prosecuted & punished for their s^d offences, It is therefore His Will and Pleasure, that you take due Care for the Punishment of the aforementioned Vices and that you earnestly recommend to the Council & House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay to provide effectual Laws for the Restraint and Punishment of all such of the aforementioned Vices against which no Laws are as yet Provided, and also you are to use your Endeavours to render the Laws in being more effectual, by providing for the Punishment of the aforementioned Vices by Presentment upon Oath to be made to the Temporal Courts of the Church Wardens of the several Parishes, or other proper Officers to be appointed for that Purpose and for the further Discouragement of Vice and Encouragement of Virtue and good living (that by such example the Infidels may be invited and persuaded to embrace the Christian Religion). * * * * *

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SEVERAL GREAT LIBRARIES.

BY JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL.

Note.—Descriptions of these eighteen libraries, except Althorp, are from notes made by the writer during his visits to them; and several of them he has more than once visited.

A VISIT, either with bodily or mental eye, to a dozen and a half notable libraries, gives us not only pleasure when we go or when we remember, but also, while all but one of them are foreign, great comfort and satisfaction when we reach, or think of, the last, which is American.

The installation of these libraries, quite as well as their character and history, is of marked interest in the survey. It is just there, indeed, that we find not a little of our final satisfaction. How a library is installed, or housed, affects a great deal our estimate of the consideration in which it is held, as well as our enjoyment of beauty and fitness. If fine feathers make fine birds, fine buildings or rooms at least help to make fine libraries.

As it was with many a modern state, so it was with the modern notable libraries. Far back in the Middle Ages grew the rudiments. Royal and noble collectors, not many, there were, but it was in the repose, the beauty, or the grandeur of the monasteries—the nurseries or shelters of civilization—that they chiefly originated and developed. It was there also early and late shown that the value of preservation is no less than the value of gathering.

In a way natural to us, we begin our observations in the home-land of our race. There, three centuries and a half have passed since the Dissolution, when by scores, *scriptorium* and *bibliotheca*, along with church and cloister, were given over to ruin or transformation, so that now we

must almost search for examples that seem still to preserve their old life and character.

A great majority of the English Monasteries now present only ruins, often, even yet, stately or beautiful. Of some, the churches have become cathedrals, and a few of these retain portions of the edifices attached, and a lesser number have libraries. *Lincoln* has one side of the cloisters replaced by an incongruous, ugly Italianish structure, built by Sir Christopher Wren for a library, for notes on which one can consult Dr. Dibdin. *Chester* has its Early English chapter house well placed beside its cloisters, in shape almost a double square, and now the library, charmingly picturesque and remarkably comfortable. Still, it is a modern adaptation.

At *Durham*, however, is a noble library in the old monastic buildings themselves. To be sure it is developed from the dormitory and another hall, but, as already said, it is a part, and a noble part, of the ancient structure, and it has several thousand printed books and as many hundred manuscripts "descended from the monastery to the chapter." Mr. Billings says it is "certainly superior to any ecclesiastical library in the country," and Mr. King considers it "one of the most interesting and important." The whole great group of Cathedral, Monastic buildings, and Castle at Durham, enthroned upon their high, bold hill, is one of the glories of the Middle Ages, and their preservation and superb enrichment are among the glories both of England and of modern piety and civilization.

The representative library with old religious associations that is mentioned here, is, however, one on a much smaller scale, but that yet seems to be in its primæval home. It is said to date, as a collection, only from 1686, but it is uncommonly old in effect, it is thoroughly old English, and much pleased the writer's fancy.

In eastern Dorsetshire, some half-a-dozen miles from the Channel Coast, is a long, straggling town, *Wimborne*,

seat of an ancient monastic institution now represented by the *Minster*. Among the thatched or red brick houses it still rises prominent, although it is not high, surrounded by verdant grounds, cruciform, built of irregular brownish or grayish stones, with a square tower at the centre and another at the west end. Within, are Norman and Early Pointed work covered by dark timber roofs. At the south side of the choir there is a vestry resembling a chapter house, and adjoining is a small turnpike stair that leads to a library overhead. It is a moderate-sized, quaint room, with little windows and a nearly flat-beamed ceiling. On all sides of it are shelves with books, most of them large, and secured to the shelves by long chains, in an old style scarcely shown elsewhere. In monastic style, also, the backs are usually turned inward. Here the writer found a man worthy of the place, and of cordial regard by all lovers of books. He was a little gray-haired sexton, half a century in office, who had found the books—long ago left to be a parish library—dusty, dirty, torn, and disordered; not the only library of the sort that has fared in this way. He had mended them, arranged them, and kept them clean—peace to his good old soul! Here, in a quiet English country town was a survival, suggestive, at least, of an old monastic library in a quaint, harmonious mediæval room, still kept with loving care. The literature was old, dry, perhaps, as were the volumes, but yet worth saving, and in a way worth imitation in greater places.

When nearly all the monastic libraries had been dispersed from their ancient homes, other collections were formed, like many of them, in retired and beautiful rural places. The *Country Seat* succeeded the Monastery as the home of libraries, and of those that were still larger and more valuable. Of varied size, or interest, or importance they were scattered in great number throughout the land, and now, in turn, they are in our time, to a large extent, becoming also dispersed.

One of the grandest and most precious of all of them, lodged in the stateliest style, was the *Sunderland* at *Blenheim*. This seat, as is well known, one of the most magnificent in England, is about eight miles from Oxford, and was built between 1705 and 1715 as a national tribute and memorial to the great Duke of Marlborough for his immense services to his country, services that not only gave it great victories and increased power, but that saved Europe from French despotism. In this edifice, 850 feet long and covering seven acres, was an apartment intended for a picture gallery, 183 feet long, besides projections, finished in Doric style. This made the library, and was lined by cases with latticed fronts. In these were placed the wonderful collection made by Charles, third Earl of Sunderland, in the course of a dozen years, during the reigns of George I. and II., and sold between December, 1881, and March, 1883. There were some 17,000 volumes, that brought £56,581 6s. The number of early printed Bibles, classics, works of great Italian authors, and books on vellum was amazing. Nor were these all. Americana, Law, English County Histories, Poets, and Historical Pamphlets were represented in profusion, as were also historic bindings. It was a library worthy of a great lord, of a great palace, of even a nation. Seen as it was in its grand home, it was a noble sight, such as we can hardly view again.

Another notable departure of a great family library—perhaps the most precious of the sort in the world—was that from *Althorp Park*, Northamptonshire, for over three centuries the residence of the family of George John, Earl Spencer. It was chiefly formed by him in the course of twenty-four years following 1784, and contained nearly 50,000 volumes, all of great rarity and value, and comprising examples of early printing amazing in number. This, perhaps unique collection, although transferred, has been kept intact. Whether its preservation will be as

secure in the future as in the past, remains to be proved.

While a majority of the great family libraries in England have, during recent years, been dispersed, there are, happily, others that remain in their home quarters.

At *Eaton Hall*, near Chester, seat of the Duke of Westminster, is a magnificent example. This residence through most of the present century was a large and stately edifice, in English pointed style, but in recent years it has been almost rebuilt with even greater magnificence. The library is a very large and noble room, elaborately finished, the wood-work American black walnut, the cases open and containing an extensive collection of fine books on a great variety of subjects.

At *Alnwick Castle*, seat of the Duke of Northumberland, is an even richer example. The huge brown castle is feudal in history as well as style, with apartments superbly refitted since 1854. The library, T-shaped, is 72 feet long, finished with light oak inlaid with a lighter, covered with fine scroll-work and highly polished throughout. There are three white marble fireplaces. In the cases are 16,000 volumes, useful, valuable and handsomely bound. Conspicuously placed among them, I saw the Massachusetts Records, New York State Reports, and the Pacific Rail Road Survey.

An example of not only a family library, but also of creation and use by a great author, is that of Sir Walter Scott at *Abbotsford*—perhaps it is safe to say, the most magnificent of its sort in the world. Its formation was the work of his lifetime, from youth to close. Not only is it a monument of his amazing literary activity, knowledge and power; it is as well a monument of the honor of a gentleman, for when that had inspired him to gigantic struggle to protect his commercial credit after a failure not caused by him, his creditors freed it and restored it to him as "the best means" they had "of expressing their very high sense of his most honorable conduct." Few groups of creditors

ever had opportunity to honor themselves as they did by that act.

As pretty much all the world knows, Sir Walter created Abbotsford between 1812 and 1824. The house left by him measures about 150 by 50 feet, and on a side overlooking the Tweed is the library, 40 feet long, 19 wide, and about 15 high. Its ceiling is divided into squares by crossed beams that at the sides spring from decorated corbels. At the intersections are pendants with "Stars of Bethlehem," copied from originals at Rosslyn. All parts are in stucco, painted to imitate oak, perhaps the only material practicable there. The upper portion of the wall is painted in imitation of green drapery. Around the room are twenty-five high oak cases, having doors latticed with brass wire. On the shelves are several thousand volumes, arranged by subjects. The collection of early prose fiction and poetry, and that relating to the insurrections of 1715 and 1745, are remarkable; that on Magic and Witchcraft has been thought to be the most wonderful ever formed. Hardly less so, is the array of presentation copies; few authors in Scott's time are unrepresented, and probably not a dialect in Europe. More precious yet, are the profuse notes that Scott himself wrote in a very great number of volumes, so that perusal of them would be like conversation with him on an immense variety of subjects.

It was a desire of Scott, with the instincts of his race and country, to found a family with a family seat, and part of the heirloom was this library, one such as hardly an author has ever created, and, furthermore, a memorial of the author, who, of our tongue, followed closest after Shakespeare. Vicissitudes of family libraries are sometimes strange or painful. Of the founder of this, children, including heir of his title, passed away, sore commercial peril was early encountered, and risks of mortal affairs ensued, but still in the cherished home of its illustrious

creator it remains safe and treasured with the Honorable Mary Monica Maxwell-Scott.

Another library once private remains famous, especially in our day; not one of an author great in literature, but great in historic events shaped by him.

The *Columbina* at Seville has less of personal or of architectural interest, for it shows less art than is usual in Spain. Time and contingencies have affected it; pests of entomology and of anthropology have beset it. The original, say 20,000 volumes, are reduced, it is said, to 10,000.

The Church, through its many officers and organizations, formed and controlled on the Continent of Europe a great number of libraries, many of which have been dispersed, others of which remain. Among these, we turn to the one preëminent.

The *Vatican Library* may be said to date from Nicholas V., in 1447, when, of course, it was manuscript. Developed after 1480, it was lodged as at present about 1588, and from that time attained its still existing celebrity as one of the most precious ever in the world. Through the past three centuries this richness has constantly increased, chiefly in manuscripts, of which there are probably 24,000, a collection surpassing all others. The number of printed books, though large, is far less than in the great National Libraries.

The installation is worthy of the treasures. In a square vestibule with marble walls, a coved ceiling and cases of fine cabinet work, visitors are at the end of galleries—halls with arched ceilings, comparatively narrow—extending over a thousand feet, enriched with frescos and porphyry or other superb columns, and lined by closed cases—for the priceless contents are for preservation and judicious use, and not for show.

At the left is the Grand Hall, 220 feet long. Through its centre is a row of square piers, bearing two ranges of

low-curved arches. All surfaces are finely painted; on the walls are shown historical subjects, on the piers full-length figures, on the vaults ornament on light grounds. Here, also, and about five feet high, are closed wooden cases, on which are painted flowers. Throughout the hall is a great array of presents, gorgeous vases of porcelain, porphyry, or malachite, statuary, and other art-works. In horizontal glazed cases are shown some of the marvels of the Vatican—and of the world. There is the Codex Vaticanus, clear, in fine order, its exposed leaves covered with celluloid. Elsewhere are autograph texts by Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Henry VIII., and others, and volumes with 4,000,000 signatures, from all over the world, sent to Pius IX. Still further is an amazing display of elaborate sixteenth century bindings. All ways considered, the Vatican Library is now, and probably always will be, without a like elsewhere.

The beauty and magnificence of other Italian libraries belonging to the Church or State, tempt to mention and description of several. But passing the glory of the Benedictines at Monte Cassano, and the Magliabecchi at Florence, we turn briefly to the superb *Sala Piccolominea* at Sienna. It is a spacious oblong hall, bright and elegant, as well as cheerful, built in 1495. Around the upper part of the walls are large pilasters, bearing lofty arches, from which springs a coved ceiling. Framed by pilasters and arches, and added between 1502 and 1506, are ten very large and remarkably well preserved historical frescos, light in tone, by Pinturicchio, who is said to have been assisted by Raphael. All other upper parts are covered with elaborate decoration, also painted. Displayed in dark carved wood cases along the hall, the writer counted sixty-six choir books, on vellum, superbly illuminated. In delicacy of designs, the great diffusion of color, and artistic merit, this hall is one of revelations of the Renaissance. In it, books that are works of art are quite at home.

In what may be called the National or the State Libraries, Italy, as do other countries, shows its grandest examples of the installation of books. Distinguished among these is the Hall of the Great Council, built between 1310 and 1334, by the most enduring of all Republics, and now the library in the *Ducal Palace* at *Venice*. After a fire in 1577, it was restored and finished much as we now find it. 175½ feet long and 84½ feet wide, its ceiling, 51½ feet above the floor, is throughout of enormous carved and gilded scrolls, framing paintings, some huge, and all precious. Around the lower part of the walls is a high wainscot of carved walnut, above which is a continuous range of large pictures, and over these, in a gilded bracketed cornice, are the portraits of 72 Doges since the year 809. Bassano, Palma, two sons of Paolo Veronese, Tintoretto, and others have, on walls or ceiling, left masterpieces. Facing all the others, is a painting said to be the largest ever on canvas, 84½ feet long and 34 feet high, the "Glory of Paradise," by Tintoretto, fitting, in subject and in art to crown this majestic hall. Here the venerable Republic fairly enthroned the best work that, at the time, it could obtain from its best masters of art, and here, after the vicissitudes of centuries and the changing agencies of man, that work remains, ennobling the stately home of the books owned by the Mistress of the Adriatic.

Within the last and the present century, especially in the latter, National Libraries have been much developed, and their installation made upon a grand scale.

In what might be called the Germanic group, two of the older collections are of especial importance. For the *Imperial Library* at *Vienna* an edifice was built in 1722. Here are about 350,000 volumes, including 12,000 of the fifteenth century. Most of them are in a spacious and imposing hall, Roman in style, with a domed centre, and elsewhere a semicircular vault, panelled and frescoed. There are imitation red marble pillars and entablatures, and

gilt decoration. Cases are of dark wood. It is more imposing than the King's Library in the British Museum, but it is not as well constructed, and the exhibit of early printed books is hardly as remarkable.

The great library of Bavaria, at *Munich*, with over 850,000 volumes, thought to be the continental collection next in size to that at Paris, occupies a vast edifice, built between 1832 and 1842, in Florentine style. It has, or had, a yellowish red exterior, and a very white interior, except the Grand Staircase, which is very imposing, and the Hall of the Dukes and Kings of Bavaria, where there are, or were, intensely red walls. Wooden floors abound, and wooden cases and shelves hold the books. The *Incunabulæ* are fine, but here again the British Museum is not equalled.

The *National Library* of France, at *Paris*, originated in small collections of books made by the sovereigns during the latter part of the fifteenth century. Great additions were made, chiefly by Louis XIV., and at the suppression of the monasteries in 1789. Like the government, the name has been often changed. Until the overthrow of the monarchy, and again, 1815 to 1848, it was *Bibliothèque du Roi*; after 1789 it was *Nationale*, a term resumed 1848 to 1852; to 1815 it was *Impériale*, and again that from 1852 to 1870, since which last date it has been, for the third time, *Nationale*. About the year 1721, it was installed in the Hotel de Mazarin, near the centre of the city, where it remains. This structure, too large, good and interesting to be destroyed, even in Paris, has, in time, been altered and enlarged to make it more fitted for its uses, so that it is, or lately was, 540 feet long by 130 feet wide, enclosing a court 300 by 90. Hence, there are both old and curious rooms or parts, and also others new, in modern French style. Among the latter is the Reading Room, large and handsome, but not nearly as imposing as the Rotunda in the British Museum. In combined number and value of

its books, this collection is thought to be, at least, second now, or ever, existing. At a time when its present and prospective need of space was evident, an edifice, not surpassed, if equalled, throughout France in historic interest, in art, in site and possibilities of adaptation was ruthlessly destroyed. There is no prophet to forecast the future; there are persons who do not like to see great treasures very near a dormant volcano.

England's great collection in London has not had to change its name on an average of every dozen years for the last hundred; it stays the *British Museum*. It may be said to date from large government purchases in 1754, and an important gift by George II., in 1757, but its age is really much greater. "The history of its component parts extends over three centuries," says Mr. Edwards. Indeed, as he continues, "every part and almost every age of the world has contributed something"—very large somethings in many cases, we may add. Since its origin and its opening, January 15, 1759, it has by national grants, and even more by private gifts, grown to immensity, so that one of its marked characteristics is its universality, and, at the same time, its nationality; in these it is preëminent.

For the installation very great space is required. Even the present edifice, built between 1823 and 1854, huge as it is—covering seven acres—has proved inadequate, and sundry parts, Natural History and others, have been removed to South Kensington.

Among the many halls, the largest and most imposing for books alone, is the King's Library, 300 feet long and 65 feet wide at the centre. It is in simple, but rich Roman style, lined by Corinthian pillars of marble, except near the centre, where they are of red Peterhead granite, with capitals of Derbyshire alabaster. All are polished, as are the oak cases between them. The books, mostly in fine bindings, are covered by glazed steel doors with gilded

brass sashes. In horizontal cases along the floor, is a probably matchless array of precious volumes, showing the art of book-making from early illuminated manuscripts, block-books, and the first printed by movable types. Following are the first in many a country, city, town; first editions of works by the great English authors, and their autographs—forms in which the greatest of the world's literatures came into being. Further, are the handwritings of the many who have shaped the history of the Island-home and the world-wide Empire of the British race.

Large and costly as was the original edifice, it was not planned with enough foresight of growth, though this has proved surprising, we may well say. Additions have been made on all sides, the chief of them the Reading Room, occupying an extensive courtyard. It is a domed hall, about 150 feet in diameter, said to be the largest in the world, opened in 1857. All around it and in it are cases filled with books, most of them richly bound. The coloring has been changed from time to time. When the writer first saw it (1860) there were gilded ribs on a blue ground; four years later he saw light buff with blue in panels, and gilded mouldings—the iron frame showing through with rather ill effect.

The library of the British Museum, with its immense accumulation of rare and precious books, and its full special collections, is such an one as can only be made by generations of enlightened, devoted, and also wealthy collectors, and that can hardly, or never, again be duplicated. A younger nation can, however, aided by like collectors, make fair progress on the same lines, and at the same time form an institution that will, in its way, have corresponding value.

The *United States* of America has, through several generations been gathering a library that has grown to be national. Its lodgings had become utterly insufficient and overcrowded, and in the latter part of the nineteenth cen-

ture the required new installation was provided. At what some persons think is the climax of human civilization, and with all the example and teaching that might then be had, the work was performed. Viewing suggestive, astonishing, or we may say, awful, evidence of what has been and might be in governmental art, we might naturally have misgivings about what we would find in the edifice provided for our national library, and that must long remain as monumental evidence of our degree of civilization. We can have sensations or form opinions without seeing the world, or knowing what mankind has elsewhere done, but we can feel and think better if we have seen and known all we can of the world and its works.

I wish that every American could feel the thrill of surprise and delight, yes and of exaltation as an American, that I felt when I first saw and examined our New National Library in Washington, and that I also felt the wide world gave me reason to feel. Positively and comparatively, here is a triumph. Here is true American Imperialism; not the bedlam of Jingoism, but the work of a great people gathering from all time and all lands, and from their widespread homes the records and the appliances of civilization, all to be saved, and held and used for human good in these throne-rooms of the Republic.

For form and style, the Italian Renaissance has been adopted, the most sumptuous creation of the great Ages of the Revival of Learning, of its diffusion by printing, and of discovery in geography and science. Here is a palace that in extent and richness might, if he could see it, cause Palladio to sigh that he had no United States to make real, designs in the style he loved and developed.

For site, wide, open grounds were taken, with abundant light, sunshine, good air, shrubbery, and security. The edifice measures 470 feet from north to south, by 340 feet from east to west, and, including four courts, covers three and three-quarters acres, or an area more than half that of

the British Museum. It is to be remembered, however, that this edifice is only for books, safe and good accommodation for 4,500,000 of which is provided on forty miles of metal shelving. For the various practical purposes of a great library, the structure with its details is a worthy monument of American intelligence. Equally worthy it is also as a monument of the national abilities in art, indeed of the harmony and possible union of the practical and the artistic. It is another evidence of American genius in combining beauty with use, shown, for example, a generation ago in the clipper-ship, with its remarkable sailing qualities and gracefulness of outlines; shown here in adapting sumptuous Renaissance and all the Fine Arts, and making them give due richness and dignity to a great engine for daily use and service.

The Entrance Hall, the Great Staircase and Corridors, with their complexity and their profusion, not waste of appropriate decoration, suggest the exuberant fancy and the mastery of Piranesi the elder. The Dome at the centre is worthy of Imperial Rome; the many halls and cabinets of the lordliest ecclesiastic or civilian of the sixteenth century.

Color has been added to fineness of material and charm of form. There was a time in our land when a cold gray, in dreary monotone, was thought to be the supreme correctness of taste and fashion. But the Lord never made His fair earth beneath us or His glorious heavens above us that way, and let us be further thankful, He did not make us or the ladies that way.

Whether we consider American current affairs, or Art, or History, this edifice is prominent, and especially in the latter, where it has, and will have, a marked place.

Examine the great libraries, past and existing, and also many that are minor, and we find that, in most cases, care for their preservation, also thought for their due installation, were good as circumstances permitted. We find that

not only have they been cherished, but that interest, often great personal interest, has become an important part of them. They are monuments both of the civilization and the art of their times, and also of the life itself of eminent men.

Some of the best spirit of the later Middle Ages lingers still in the monastic repose and beauty of Chester and of Durham; at Alnwick and at Blenheim are the lordliness and stateliness of the great seats, hardly less impressive and important in their time—at the latter and at Althorp the homes of two of the world's chief collectors and preservers; at Abbotsford is the world's almost unique creation, solace, arsenal, of one of its noblest men of genius; at Rome and at Sienna are glories of the Church enshrined in Italian art; at Venice, with like sumptuous installation, the life of the oldest of Republics seems yet prolonged; at the great capitals are triumphs of Peace achieved by nations.

And now, at the Capital of our own land, is a worthy edifice to combine all these; here is no vanity of boast, but substance of fact in glory of achievement; well as can be, means for preservation and for use are provided; here the simply practical and the treasures of human labor and thought are enshrined in majesty and beauty.

ANDROS RECORDS.

BY ROBERT N. TOPPAN.

AMONG the historical papers of value in possession of the American Antiquarian Society are the Andros Records. They are the original minutes, in manuscript, of the early meetings of the Council during the administration of Sir Edmund Andros, who, as royal Governor, succeeded Joseph Dudley, appointed by the King temporary President of Massachusetts after the annulling of the Charter of the Colony by legal process. They cover a period of about four months, beginning with the first meeting, on December 20th, 1686, and ending on April 25th, 1687, when a new system of government was being, as was supposed, firmly and permanently established, the executive, law-making and judicial powers being conferred upon a Governor and Council, by the authority of the King, in place of a Governor, Council and House of Deputies selected by the freemen of the Colony—a viceroyalty, instead of a self-governing democracy.

Although these minutes were undoubtedly used in the preparation of the official records, covering the same period, sent to the authorities in England, a transcript of which is in the Department of Archives at the State House, the differences¹ are such as to make it desirable to publish the full text of the original manuscript.

Nearly forty years ago, Mr. Samuel F. Haven, the accomplished librarian, called the attention of the Society to the existence of the minutes in an interesting report,² in

¹ See *Edward Randolph*, Vol. II., pp. 8, 9. Publications of the Prince Society, 1898.

² See *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 24 April, 1861, p. 31.

which he says, "While the learned American annalist, Rev. Dr. Holmes, was an officer of this Society, he received an anonymous letter from Newburyport, accompanying a parcel of ancient manuscripts for the Society, which the donor said he had rescued from the flames, and which, if useful for nothing else, he thought, might serve to light some antiquarian pipe; to which purpose they came very near being devoted by himself."

"Among these were several papers which are included in Hutchinson's collection; and a copy of the commission to Andros, as Governor of New England, which had then never been printed. It has since been published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the seventh volume of their third series of Collections. Another document, which appears not to have attracted particular attention, as it is not distinguished by a special entry upon our records, perhaps came with the same parcel. It proves to be the original minutes of proceedings at the meetings of Andros and his Council during the first four months of his administration,—the period of the organization and establishment of the new Government. It is in the handwriting of Randolph's clerk, with interlineations and additions by the Secretary himself. It commences with what may be regarded as an official list of the Council, and records the names of those present at each meeting. It shows that the records obtained from England by Mr. Felt are only an abstract of the doings of the Government, furnished in compliance with an order from the authorities at home. In that abstract, the votes and discussions are greatly abridged, some of them wholly omitted; while many meetings are passed by without a notice. These original minutes, as far as they go, were apparently used in the preparation of the abstract; for the word *stet* was written against many of the passages by the hand of the Secretary, implying a compilation from the contents of the manuscript."

In addition to these minutes, it is probable that the records of the Council meetings under President Dudley, the temporary predecessor of Andros, will be published in the near future by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and it is hoped that these, in turn, will be followed by the publication of the remaining meetings, under Andros, as far as their records have been preserved, subsequent to April 25th, 1687. Transcripts of these records, sent from England, are at the State House, while drafts, in manuscript, of various meetings are found scattered in different parts of the Massachusetts Archives.¹

The names of his Matys Council in his Territory and Dominion of New England.

His Excellence S^r Edmond Andros Kn^t Govern^r.

Joseph Dudley	William Stoughton	} Esq ^{rs}
Robert Mason	Thomas Hinckley Ply.	
Walter Clarke	John Fitz-Winthrope	
John Pinchon	Peter Buckley	
Wait Winthrop	Richard Wharton	
John Usher	Bartholomew Gedney	
Jonathan Tyng	John Hincks	
Edward Tyng	Barnaby Lathrop Ply.	
John Sandford	William Bradford Ply.	
Daniel Smith	John Walley Ply.	
Nathaniel Clarke Ply.	John Coggsall	
Walter Newberry	John Green	
Richard Arnold	John Alborough	
	Edward Randolph Sec ^y	

¹ Mr. Samuel F. Haven has placed a memorandum, in his handwriting, with the original minutes, as follows: "Mem. of differences between the Andros Records at the State House and the original minutes in the library of the Am. Antiquarian Society."

"1. The list of Council is wanting at the State House.

"2. The record jumps from Jan'y 28 to Feb. 23. There were meetings Feb. 4 & Feb. 15.

"3. The whole record of Feb. 23 is in two lines, whereas, in the minutes it occupies four full pages.

"4. The record has no meetings of Feb. 24, Feb. 26, Feb. 28, Mar. 2, Mar. 5, Mar. 10, and none from Mar. 17 to May 4, whereas, in the minutes, besides the dates above mentioned, there are those of Mar. 19, Apl. 2, Apl. 6, Apl. 13, Apl. 20, Apl. 25.

"Some of the orders passed at those meetings are, however, given under other dates.

"5. In a vol. labelled 'Usurpation Papers,' are fragments of records or copies of records containing some of the same matter that is in the minutes, and in the same handwriting. . . . These fragments, on loose sheets, appear to be copies of orders passed, made for some distinct object. Some of these are attested by Randolph. They are evidently transcribed from the minutes in the A. A. S. Library. Some of them are printed in His. Soc. Coll. . . . From these minutes the

At a Councill held in Boston in his Matys Territory and Dominion of New England on Monday December the 20th 1686.

Present

His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governour

Joseph Dudley
William Stoughton
Peter Buckley
Wait Winthrop

Richard Wharton
John Usher
Bartholomew Gedney
and

} Esqrs

Edward Randolph Secry

His Matys Commission for Government directed to his Excell: Sr Edmond Andros Knight was published and the Oath of Allegiance was administered to his Exce by Joseph Dudley and the members then present together with the Oath *for the due execution of Justice by his Matys said Commission enjoyned to be taken.*

His Exce gave the Oath of allegiance and the Oath for the due administration of Justice above mentioned to the Members of his Matys Councill then present.

His Exce produced his Matys Warrant bearing date at Winsor the 26th of Septemr 1686 appointing & authorizing a Great Seal for the use of this his matys Government with the Seal it Self.

Upon Mr Stoughton's Informing his Exce the Court *was the next day* to be holden at Charles towne being Tuesday the one and twentyeth Instant was Ordered to be adjourned till Tuesday the fourth of January next ensuing.

It being moved That 'twas necessary to pass a Temporary Order for confirming all officers etc. in their places It was accordingly Ordered that the following Declaration be forthwith passed and Published in these words

By his Exce the Governour and Councill,

these are to declare and Publish That all Officers Civill and Military and the Officers of his Matys Revenues togeather wth all Dutyes and Imposts as now Setled in this Town of Boston, and other parts of this Government are hereby Continued till further Order and all persons are required to Conform thereto accordingly

Upon Mr Stoughton's saying that Road Island was not mentioned in his Matys Commission to his Exce, his Exce produced an Order under his Matys Sign Manual upon the Surrender of the Charter to take the Colony of R. Island under his Government, and it being the Opinion of the Councill that Thursday the 30th of this Instant December would be the Soonest day for a Generall Councill to meet at Boston his Exce resolved to write to the Members of Road Island and New Plymouth, and that the Secry should write to the absent members of the Councill of this Government that they might all meet accordingly. Adjourned

Record now in England (of which a copy was obtained by Mr. Felt for the State) was made up by Randolph with such alterations and omissions as he thought proper, or as suited his purposes."

till Tuesday the 21st of this Instant at One of the Clock in the afternoon.¹

At a Councill held at Boston New England on Tuesday the 21st of Decembr 1686.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knight Gov^o

Joseph Dudley	Richard Wharton	} Esqrs
William Stoughton	John Usher	
Peter Buckley	Barth ^o Gedney	
Wait Winthrop	Jonathan Tyng	

Edward Randolph.

Jonathan Tyng one of the Members of his Matys Councill was Sworn and tooke his place.

Ordered that Copies of the Declaration made by his Exce and Councill on ye 20th Instant, be Sent to the Severall Clerks of the County Courts in this Governmt for their Direction.

Ordered that the Castle on Castle Island be Speedily repaired, and that Mr Gibbs' house at Fort hill, be made fit for the accomodation of the foot Companies of Souldiers, and that Mr Treasurer Usher take Care and see it done accordingly.

Ordered that Joseph Cowell or Some other fit person be sent wth his Exce's Letter to the Gov^r and Company of Connecticot, his Maty haveing likewise authorized and Impowered his Exce upon Submission and Surrender of their Charter to take that Colony under his Care and Government.

mr Treasurer Usher is directed to make ready and present to the Auditor his accounts of what mony hath been received and payd for the Support of this his Matys Government.

Adjourned till Thursday the 30th Instant.²

¹ In the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, Vol. II., is contained a transcript of the Records from the 20th of December, 1686, to the 29th of December, 1687, preserved in England, attested by Robert Lemon, chief clerk in Her Majesty's State Paper Office in London on 16th of September, 1846.

The record of 20th December, 1686, does not contain the name of Wait Winthrop as being present at the meeting, but contains the following not found in the original minutes: "His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governour being landed repaired forthwith to the Towne house attended thither by a great number of Merchants and others with all the Militia of Horse and Foot." "His Exce in a short speech acquainted the Councill that his Majtie by his letters Patents dated the third day of June in the second year of his Majty's Reigne appointed him to be Captaine General Governour in Chief etc. of New England which was then published in a full Assembly." The rest of the record is not as full as the original minutes.

See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 164, in the handwriting of Edward Randolph.

² The record of this meeting in the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., does not contain the names of those present, but only the orders about the Castle and Mr. Gibbs's house.

In *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 176, under date of December 22d, which is evidently a clerical error, for December 21st is a draft, most of which is in the handwriting of Edward Randolph, giving the names of those present, and adding, "that summons be issued to the Members of the Councill in Rood Island

At a Countill held in Boston New England on Thursday the 30th of December 1686.

Present: his Exce^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Knight Govern^r

Joseph Dudley	Barnaby Lathrop	} Esq ^{rs}
William Stoughton	William Bradford	
Thomas Hinckley	Daniell Smith	
Walter Clarke	John Walley	
Peter Buckley	Nathaniel Clarke	
Walt Winthrop	John Coggsball	
Richard Wharton	Walter Newberry	
John Usher	Richard Arnold	
Bartho. Gedney	John Arborough	
Jonathan Tyng	Edw ^d Randolph	

Upon opening of the Countill His Excellence tooke the oath for observing y^e acts of trade & navigation, Commanded the Members thereof to be called over by their Names and take their places accordingly.

The Members of the Countill being Seated the Commission to his Exce^{ce} for Government of this his Matys Territory and Dominion was read, and also the Instructions Given his Exce^{ce} under his Matys Signet Impowering his Exce^{ce} to receive the Surrender of Road Islands Charter.

His Exce^{ce} demanded of Walter Clark and other Members of the Countill for Road Island the delivery of their Charter, they made answer 'Twas at their Governours house in Newport and That it should be forth Coming when Sent for, but in regard to the teadiousnes & bad weather It could not then be brought; his Excellence then ordered it to be brought & that the Secry take charge of it accordingly.

His Exce^{ce} proceeded to administer the oath of Allegiance and the oath also for the due Execution of their trust as Councellours to the Members of his Matys Countill, not formerly Sworn, and being desired to stand up and Answer to their Names Thomas Hinckley, Walter Clark, Barnaby Lathrop, William Bradford, Daniel Smith, John Walley, Nathaniel Clark, John Coggsball, Walter Newberry, Richard Arnold and John Alborough were Sworn accordingly.

'Twas moved That a Proclamation Should be made to Confirm Officers both Civill and Military in the late Colonyes of New Plymouth & Road Island in their plans till further order and thereupon

Ordered Proclamation should be drawn to that end and that Commissions for appointing Civill and Military officers to forth with be prepared for his Excellency.

Ordered that the names of fitt persons be returned and

Ordered by his Excellency That new Commissions for Civill &

& New plymouth to be present on Wednesday y^e 29th of this present December." . .
 "A letter sent to Major Pincheon to attend." "A Countill to meet on thursday y^e 30th of the last instant Decembr and yt all y^e members of y^e Countill be sumoned to be present."

See also *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 208.

Military officers throw the whole Dominion be forth with prepared & Sent to the Severall Colonyes & provinces accordingly:¹

At a Councill held in Boston N. England on Fryday the 31st of December 1686.

Present: His Exce^{te} Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governor.

Joseph Dudley	John Hinks	} Esqrs
William Stoughton	Barnaby Lathrop	
Thomas Hinckly	William Bradford	
Walter Clarke	Daniel Smith	
John Fitz-Winthrop	John Walley	
Peter Buckley	Nathaniel Clarke	
Wait Winthrop	John Coggshall	
Richard Wharton	Walter Newberry	
John Usher	Richard Arnold	
Bartho. Gedney	John Alborough	
Jonathan Tyng	& Edward Randolph	

Major John Winthrope and Mr John Hincks both members of the Councill were admitted and having taken the Oathes did accordingly take their places.

¹ The record in the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., is substantially the same, but not so full as in the original minutes.

See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 186. In this draft the name of "John Alborough" is given correctly. In the original minutes it is written "John Arbrough." The word "Secry" is added to "Edward Randolph." The sentence in the original minutes "and also the Instructions Given his Exce^{te} under his Matys Signet Impowering his Exce^{te} to receive the Surrender of Road Islands Charter" reads as follows, "and also the Instructions under his Matys Signe Manuall Impowering his Exce^{te} to receive the Charter of Road Island and Providence plantation was likewise read." In the original minutes it is stated that all the Members of the Council, who had not previously taken the oaths, "were sworn," but in the draft it is said, "who (all of them) Walter Clark and Walter Newberry excepted, did take y^e Oath & showed assent thereto by holding up their right hands."

"Walter Clark & Walter Newberry gave also their express Consent to y^e s^d Oath of Alleg. and y^e Oath for y^e Admd. of Justice in y^e Governmt according as directed in his Matys late Commission to y^e President and Councill, professing themselves obliged in all good conscience before God so to do, and y^e under the utmost penaltys of perjury in all respects the members of the Councill being severally asked their opinion did allow of their protestation."

"His Exce^{te} in a short discourse encouraged the members to freedom in debate. Walter Clark & Walter Newberry acknowledge the Surrender of y^e Charter made to his Maty at Windsor but fearing y^e surrender was not effectual for avoiding all mistakes they had psented another humble address to his Maty under the publique Seal of their Colonyes and had sent over agents to pray his Matys favour towards them and W. Clarke further added that y^e Charter of R. I. was in his custody at Newport."

"It was moved That a Proclamacon should be made through all y^e Colonyes and provinces of this Gvt. That all officers both civill and military should be continued in their places of trust and y^e y^e lawes not repugnant to y^e lawes of England in y^e severall Colonyes should be observed during his Exce^{te} pleasure."

"Ordered that the Proclamacon be drawn up & psented to his Exce^{te} in Councill to morrow by nine of y^e Clock in y^e morning."

"Adj^o. till fryday next y^e 31st of Dec. at 9 in y^e morning."

See also *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 208. In this draft the name of Walter Newberry is omitted, but that of Edward Tyng is added.

Stet. It is Ordered that Mr Dudley, Mr Stoughton, Mr Hinckley, Mr Winthrop, Mr Clarke, Mr Coggsball and Major Walley be a Standing Comtee whereof the Major part to be a Quorum, and immediately to attend that Service, That Major Buckley & Mr Wharton be present as often as may be,

That the Secretary do attend and provide a fitt Clerke.

Upon reading the Papers presented by Mr Wharton and the Secretary relating to an Impost and Dutyes to be Laid on Rumm, Tobacco &c.,

It was Ordered. That they should be further considered.

Stet. Ordered that the Treasurer pay the arrears and Publick charges of the Forts and Castles.

Stet. That the usuall times and places for holding Courts in the Colonyes of New Plymouth and Road Island be as formerly and That all Marriages be Solemnized in this Governmt as of Late accustomed untill further Order,

Stet. Ordered, That a single Country Rate of one Penny in the Pound be Levyed and Collected in all the Late Colonyes and Provinces towards defraying the Publick charge of this Governmt according to former usage.

Adj. till the last Wednesday in February next.¹

At a meeting of the Councill In Boston New England on Thursday the 12th of Janry 1686.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governr

Joseph Dudley
William Stoughton
Walt Winthrop

Richard Wharton }
John Usher } Esqrs
Edward Tyng }

Edward Randolph.

Edward Tyng Esqr one of the Members of the Councill tooke the Oaths enjoyed by his Matys Commission, and took his place in Councill.

A Letter received from Robert Treat Esqr Governour of the Colony of Connecticut dated the 6th of January Instant in answer to his Exces Leter of the 22^d of Decembr last Signifying to him his Matys pleasure, & Impowering his Exce to receive the Surrender of the Charter of that Colony &c.

Stet. Ordered That the Comtee for reviseing the Lawes of the Severall Colonyes do Instantly meet and attend that business, and that the Secretary write to the Recorder of Road Island to send to the Comtee a Cople of their Lawes.

Mr Isaac Addington of Boston to be Clerke to the Comtee.

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the names of the Council present are not given. The names of the Committee to revise the laws are also omitted. The rest of the record is not as full as the original minutes.

In *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 212, the day of the week is given correctly as "Tuesday." Edward Tyng is mentioned in the list of councillors present. An order is added "That the Treasurer pay the arrears and Publick Charges of the Forts and Castels."

Ordered, that the Secretary pursuant to an Order of Councill made on the 4th of this Instant January do Send an Order to the Treasurer for collecting a Single Country rate to his Maty, And that the Treasurer do issue out his Warrants for collecting the Same accordingly.

Adjourned Sine die.¹

At a meeting of the Councill at Boston in New England on Saturday the 22th of January 1686.

Present: His Exce^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Knt^t Governour

Joseph Dudley
William Stoughton
John Winthrop

Wait Winthrop
Richard Wharton } Esqrs
John Usher
and Edward Randolph.

His Exce^{ce} the Governour acquainted the Councill of the arrivall of Ship Samuell and Thomas of Boston John Tebbet Master who had brought his Exce^{ce} from Whitehall a pacquett containeing Severall Letters of publick concern, which his Exce^{ce} Intended to Communicate, and assembled the Councill to that purpose.

A Letter from his Most Exnt^t Maty dated at Whitehall the 9th of October 1686 in the Second year of his Matys Reigne countersigned by his matys Command Rochester directed to Our Trusty and well beloved Sr Edmond Andros Knight Our Capt^t Generall and Governour in Chief of Our Territory and Dominion of New Engld in America &c. at Boston, requireing a strict Inspection of his Matys Revenue there, was read in Councill and Ordered to be Entred in the Councill booke. A Letter from his most Sacred Maty dated at Whitehall the 31th of October 1686 in the Second Year of his Matys Reigne relating to the value and prices of pieces of eight and regulateing forraigne Coyn in New England directed to Our Trusty and well beloved Sr Edmond Andros Knight Our Capt^t Generall and Governour in Cheife of Our Territory and Dominion of New England in America, was likewise read and Ordered to be entred &c.

A Letter from the Right Honble the Lords of the Comtee for Trade and forreign Plantations from the Councill Chamber at Whitehall bearing date the 24th day of October 1686 directed to Our very loveing friend Sr Edmond Andros Knt^t Capt^t Generall and Gov^r in Cheife of his Matys Territory and Dominion of New England in America, and to his Matys Councill there. Signifying his Matys Royall Pleasure that a Quarterly account of all matters of Importance whether Civill, Ecclesiasticall or Military be transmitted to their Lordships at four Severall times in the year, was read, and Ordered to be entred.

A Paper dated the 23^d of October 1686 containing an Answer of the

¹The *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., do not give the names of the Council present. The order that the Committee for revising the laws "do instantly meet and attend that business" is omitted, as well as the appointment of Isaac Addington to be clerk of that Committee.

officers of the Mint to the Reasons for a Mint in New England was also read.

And in regard the Matters contained in the Severall Letters above mentioned were of high Import It was

Ordered that the Consideration thereof be refer'd unto the next General meeting of the Council.

A Petition of Peter Reverdee to his Maty for a Grant of fourteen years for making Salt in New England was read, and the methods therein layd down judged impracticable and also detrimentall to the fishery and Navigation of this place.

A Petition of the Inhabitants of Pullen Point shewing the great inconvenience of their being Seaven or Eight miles distant from a meeting house and praying liberty to assemble together in some convenient house for the Service of God was read and Ordered to be considered, the next meeting of the Council.

Upon reading the Petition of Daniel Mackarty Setting forth that he has been a prisoner in his matys Goal in Boston and haveing been charged wth felony and Burglary was tryed and acquitted by his Jury, but kept still in prison for his fees 'twas

Ordered that upon payment of his fees he be forthwith discharged according to Law.

Adjourned till the 24th Instant.¹

January the 24th fell a great Storm and prevented the meeting of the Council.²

At a meeting of the Council in Boston on Thursday the 28th of January 1686.

Present: His Exce^t Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t Gov^r

Joseph Dudley	Wait Winthrop	} Esq ^s
William Stoughton	Richard Wharton	
John Winthrope	Edward Randolph	

Upon debate about foreign Coyne and the mony of this Countrey his Exce^t proposed two Questions.

¹ In the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the names of the Council present are not given. The date of the King's letter in regard to the value of the pieces of eight is given as "October 21st" instead of "31st of October." The reading of the paper relating to a Mint in Boston, containing an answer from the officers of the Mint in London, is not mentioned. The petition of Peter Reverdee is not given. The petition of the inhabitants of Pullen Point is omitted, as well as the petition of Daniel Mackarty. The following is found which is not contained in the original minutes: "Upon Mr. Randolph's proposing it very necessary for his Majties service that Ports be appointed for loading and unloading ships and Vessells in this Dominion: it was Ordered That the severall Towns of Boston, Salem, Piscataqua, New Bristol &c. Newport in Road Island be the only allowed Ports in this Dominion."

See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 220, in Randolph's handwriting. The date of the King's letter requiring a strict inspection of the revenues is given as October 19 instead of October 9.

See also *ibid.*, p. 228.

² In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., there is no mention of a storm preventing the meeting.

First, Whether it was in the power of the Council to stopp the Shipping off mony from hence to England &c.

Secondly What prejudice the Shipping of mony will bring to this Country, both which Questions after some discourse were Referred till another meeting of the Council.

His Exce taking notice of the great danger wch might ensue by *Stet.* permitting the use of Printing presses in Boston and the Town of Cambridge unless speedily taken care of and thereupon

Ordered that no Papers, books, or Pamphlets be henceforth printed either in Boston or Cambridge untill Licensed according to Law *Stet.* and that no Printer be admitted of and Licensed to Print untill he hath given five hundred pound bond to his Maty in the Secretary's office not to print any unlicensed papers, books or Pamphlets.

That Copies of Books &c. to be printed be first perused by Mr Dudley late Presidt and upon his allowance of them for the Press, that one Copie thereof so allowed and attested by him be brought to the Secys Office to be left on Record, and receive from him an Imprimatur.

Adj. till Thursday next in the afternoon.¹

At a meeting of the Council on Thursday the 4th of February 1686.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governour.

Joseph Dudley	Richard Wharton	} Esqrs
William Stoughton	John Usher	
Walter Clarke	John Walley	
Waite Winthrop	Edw Randolph	

His Exce then took the Oath for executing and performing all matters and things wch by the Statute made in the 12th year of his Late Matys Reigne Intituled an Act for the Encourageing and Increaseing of Shipping and Navigacon and also by the Act made in the 15th year of his Said Matys reigne Intituled an Act for the Encouragem^t of trade required to be taken by all Governors and Comanders in Chief of his Matys fforeign Plantacons.

In answer to the Petition of the Inhabitants of Rumney Marsh and Pullen Point read In Council the 22th of January last, It is

Ordered that the Petitioners bring in the names of those who within their own bounds contribute to the maintenance of a minister and the Subscriptions of such persons or other means of maintenance proposed, and also return the name of the Minister they intend to call to their assistance.

His Exce Seeing the great necessities of haveing the Records of the Country removed from the dwelling house of Mr Rawson late Secry

It was Ordered that the persons Impowered by an order of the late President and Council of the 8th of December last doe effectually

¹ In the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the names of the members of Council present are not given. The clause relating to foreign coin is omitted; that in regard to the licensing of books, etc. is much condensed. The following is not in the original minutes, "Adjourned till the 23^d of Febr'y next."

See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 224.

persue the same and that the Office in the Court House in Boston be forthwith enlarged and prepared to receive them accordingly.

It was also further Ordered that the Court where Civill and Criminal Causes are tryed be altered and made more Convenient for that purpose.

Adjourned till Thursday the 10th of this Instant.¹

Thursday ye 10th by extreame bad weather No Councill.²

At a meeting of the Councill Febry the 15th 1687.

Present: His Exce^{se} Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governor.

Joseph Dudley	Walt Winthrop	} Esqr ^s
William Stoughton	Richard Wharton	
Walter Clarke	John Usher	
John Winthrope	John Coggs	
	Edward Randolph	

&

His Exce^{se} acquainted the Councill that he had received a Letter from the Governor and Company of Connecticut dated at Hartford the 26th January in answer to his Exce^{ses} Letter to them from Boston dated the of

The letter was read in Councill and debated whether fitting to write to them any more about the Surrender of their Charter,

His Exce^{se} concluded to write more at large.

A Commission for Justices of the peace in Road Island was read.

Upon the question whether the memb^{rs} of Councill ought to be Inserted in it, It was resolved in the Negative.

His Exce^{se} desired the Members of the Councill to nominate fit persons to be in the Commisssion of the peace in Road Island and Kings-province; and accordingly they nominated for Newport on Road Island

Peleg Sandford
and francis Brinley

for Portsmouth { John Coggs &
Thomas Townsend

Canonicot Caleb Carr ye elder

¹ In the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 225, for a draft of a portion of the minutes. "Whereas by an Order of the late President and Councill dated the 8th day of December last It was ordered that Wait Winthrop, Simon Lynds, Esqr^s Benjamin Bullivent Isaac Addington & Mr Daniel Allin be a Comtee with the Secretary to receive, sort and form the Records of the Country (now in the hands of Mr Rawson, late Secretary) that they may be ready for service, Enjoying the sd Comtee to be sworn for the faithfull discharge of their trust, empowering, & ordering Mr Lynd & Mr Bullivent to take the same from Mr Rawson, the next day following, & to remove the same (in the posture they find them) into the Library Chamber. In pursuance whereof it is hereby Ordered That the sd Comtee do forthwith enter upon the effectual execution thereof bringing them to y^e Office provided for them & Mr Rawson late Secry to be assisting in sorting & disposing them accordingly."

² In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., there is no mention of the weather preventing a meeting of the Council.

for Block Island Symon Ray

for Kings province { Major Smith
John fones
James Pendleton

for Providence Arthur ftenner

for Warwick Randall Holden

Military Officers.

Newport } 1st Company }	Isaac Bliss, Capt Jon Stanton, Lieut Jas. fones, Ensigne	{ Edward Pelham, Lt Henry Tu: John Pebody
Portm ^o	Isaac Layton, Capt Tho Cornell, Lieut Jon Cone, Ensigne.	

Conenicot. Josiah Arnold. Capt he to return ye names of his Lieutenant and Ensigne.

Block Island. Capt Jn^o Sandys, Peleg Sandford to be majr of the Regiment.

Kings province } John fones, Capt
Rochester } Lodwick Updike, Lt
Henry Bull, Ens.

Feversham John Davitt, Captain
Peter Crandell, Lieutenant
Joseph Pendleton, Ens.

Deptford Clement Weaver, Capt
Samuel Bennet, Lieut.
Thomas fry, Ensigne.

Providence Wm Hopkins, Capt

Warwick Benja Groton, Capt
Jon Lo, Lieutenant

Richard Smith, Esq^{re} Major of the Regiment.

Adj. till ye 23^d instant to nine in the morning.¹

At a meeting of the Generall Council by adjournment from ye day of Jan^y to this Instant 23^d February.

Present: His Ex^{ce} the Governour.

Joseph Dudley	John Hinks	} Esq ^{rs}
Wm Stoughton	Barnaby Lathrop	
Tho Hinckley	Wm Bradford	
Walter Clarke	Daniel Smith	
Jn ^o fitz-Winthrop	John Walley	
John Pincheon	Nat. Clarke	
Walt Winthrop	Walter Newberry	
Rich ^d Wharton	Richard Arnold	
John Usher	John Alborough	
Barth ^o Gedney	Edward Randolph	

Major Pincheon Sworn and tooke his place in Council.

His Ex^{ce} in a short Speech to the Council acquainted them of Letters received from his most Sacred Mat^{ie} and from the Right Hon^{ble} the

¹ In the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

Lords of the Councill, directing sending home quarterly accounts of their proceedings.

His Exce caused the letters from ye Govern' and Company of Connecticut Colony of the 26 of January, to be read in Councill, His Ma Letter to his Exce and Councill of ye 31st of October relating to the raising of pelces of Eight and ye Councill entred into a Debate about it.

A paper was presented by Mr Wharton for an accomodcon of the Country and Supply of mony to carry on trade.

Great Complaints were made that unless both the Coyne of New England and pieces of Eight were raised all the money would go out of the Country.

His Exce wholly declared against Setting any value upon the New England mony further then the Intrinsick Value upon the New Engld and So used in trade and accounted as Bullion.

Mr Whartons paper ordered to be read and after a long debate about raising monys two Gold Smiths were sent for to give their opinion in the matter they Came to the Councill Chamber and haveing heard Mr Whartons paper read they pray'd further time to give in their opinion of the p'posall, and Ordered to be Considered. Many of the Councill were very zealous for raising the Value of mony Saying twould make mony plenty in the Country and quicken Trade.

Twas objected it would bring in Light mony only from the West Indies which would wholly at once destroy the Navigacon of this Country for the Lumber Trade and bring in return nothing but light pieces of Eight and So no Sugar Mellasses Rhum &c. would be Imported this Governmt and consequently no returns to be made from hence to England.

Twas further argued that the Raising mony would help only the Merchants and the Country Inhabitants, not be the better for they would not advance upon their goods and So would be a great Inequality in Trade and Suddainly the Country would be ruined.

His Exce shewed his readiness to p'mote the Interest of his Maytie and the benefit of the Country in getting mony to be raised, but the whole morning was spent and nothing Concluded and that matter was reserved to another time.

The lawes titled actions pa: c: was read and disproved by his Exce from the unreasonableness and also because it seemed very Impracticable thing to carry a man by a Writt taken from ye Clerke of one County to bring a Debtor to any remote place of ye Government into a foreign County.

The law titled agt Vexatious Suites etc: Appearance, Non Appearance & Attorneys were allowed—but in regard they did relate to the practice and rules of courts his Exce was unwilling they should be drawn up into bills to be passed in Councill.

The law about Town Contracts for Ministers maintendence was read & pressed very hard to have it passed.

A paper produced and read offering many reasons against it, a Cople of a paper from the Attourney Gen^l was read in which was contained his Mat^{ies} pleasure that no Q: [Quaker] in New Eng^d should be kept in prison for not coming to hear divine service &c. the debate was adjourned till another day.

Adj. till y^e afternoon.¹

Thursday feb. 24. at four in y^e afternoon :

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governour.

Joseph Dudley	Barth. Gedney
Wm Stoughton	John Hinks
Tho. Hinckley	Barnaby Lathrop
Walter Clarke	Daniel Smith
John Fitz-Winthrop	John Walley
John Pincheon	Nat. Clarke
Walt Winthrop	Walter Newberry
Richard Wharton	Richard Arnold
John Usher	John Alborough
	Ed : Randolph

A Law for Establishing Courts and the times for holding them was read and debated, his Ex^{ce} declared his dissent, that any tryalls upon the title of Lands should be had in y^e Kings province untill his Mat^{ies} pleasure and determinacon thereupon be first had and received.

A long debate about Keeping Courts at Newport and Rochester at last concluded that one Court be kept at Newport & another at Rochester.

The bill for a Court to try any cause under 40 sh^l before any Justice of the peace passed and Ordered to be Ingrossed.

The Bill for Establishing Courts of Judicature and publick Justice agreed and Committed.

Adjourned till next morning at nine of y^e clock.²

At a meeting of the Council at Boston in N. Eng^d febr^y 25, 1686.

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governour.

Joseph Dudley	John Hincks
Wm Stoughton	Barnaby Lathrop
Thomas Hinckley	Wm Bradford
Walter Clarke	Daniel Smith
John Fitz-Winthrop	John Walley
John Pincheon	Nat. Clarke
Walt Winthrop	Walter Newberry
Richard Wharton	Richard Arnold
Jo: Usher	John Alborough
Barth ^e Gedney	Edward Randolph

The petition of Robert Earle prison keeper for payment of his Salary was read and referred to the Treasurer.

¹ In the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the following entries only are found: "The Council being met the raising of Spanish Coyne was debated but referred." "Adjourned till the 25th of this Inst: Febr^y."

² In the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

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report upon Mr Whartons
bring them in plentifully
of New England money.
would be to raise pieces of
N. Engld money pass at the Same
country before any money would be
in trade.

of Eight (peru excepted) 15 penny
all other Bullion and plate of
at six & eight pence p' ounce.
weight at 6.

Tuesdays in March, June, September and
holding Quarterly Courts thro' the whole

that all Writts should pass in his Maties name

Writts should issue out of ye Clerks Office in
this Dom. in his Maties Name and under the
Signed by the Clerke.

at two a clock.

of the Council at Boston in New England feb. 25th 1686,

Afternoon.

Esq. Sr. Edmond Andros Knt. Governr

Robert Dudley
Wm. Stoughton
The Honorable
Wm. Clarke
John Winthrop
John Pincheon
Wm. Winthrop
Richard Wharton
John Fisher
Bartho. Gedney

John Hincks
Barnaby Lathrop
Wm. Bradford
Daniel Smith
John Walley
Nathaniel Clarke
Walter Newberry
Richard Arnold
John Alborough
Edward Randolph

A very long debate about Keeping of Courts of Assizes managed
Road Island & Kings province his Exce declared it an unreason-
able thing that Major Smith should beare the whole charge of that
Court. besides that twas no place proper in regard there was not
accommoda^{on} for such a Number of people as must necessarily attend,

The Council Records of Massachusetts, vol. II., do not contain the petition of
Robert Earle or the report of the goldsmiths. The following, however, is found:
"A Bill for continuing severall Rates, duties and Imposts was read & ordered to be
committed." "A Bill for Impowring Justices of the Peace to decide differences
not exceeding forty shillings was likewise read and Committed." "A Bill for
establishing Courts of Judicature and publick Justice was likewise read and Com-
mitted with this proviso, that all Writts shall issue out of the Clerks Office of the
severall County Courts within this Dominion in his Maties name and under the Seal
of the Office." The order for holding courts on the first Tuesdays in March, June,
September and December is omitted. The afternoon session is also omitted.

and therefore Newport the most convenient place untill Rochester was settled & built.

The bill for holding Courts of Assizes was read a second time and Ordered to be Engrossed.

Ordered that a bill for the Imposts be p^rpared & brought in tomorrow morning.

Adj. till tomorrow morning at 9 of y^e Clock.

At a Councill held at Boston in New England Feb. y^e 26, 1686.

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t Governour

Joseph Dudley	John Hincks
Wm Stoughton	Barnaby Lathrop
Thos Hinckley	Wm Bradford
Walter Clarke	John Walley
John ffitz-Winthrop	Nathaniel Clarke
Richard Wharton	Walter Newberry
John Usher	Richard Arnold
Bartho Gedney	John Alborough
	Edward Randolph

A bill of Impost on Merchants goods &c. was read but in regard it was deficient It was Ordered That a new bill be prepared and that the Excise upon Wine Strong Waters, &c. be put in y^t bill and brought in to be Ordered.

Ordered That a bill appointing lawfull ports times and places for loading and unlivery of shippes and Vessells be prepared and brought in to be Read and brought in before the Councill adjourns.

Upon a question whether goods Landed and paying the Imposts in one port shall upon being removed pay duties in another port

Ordered that all masters producing a Certificate from the officers of the Customes That the duties were paid at y^e port of unlivery such goods shall pay no other duties and that care be taken for Masters to know their duty therein.

A long debate betwixt the proprietors of the Narraganset County and y^e Inhabitants of Rhoad Island about the place for holding Courts either party being unwilling to go from their own towns.

It was Ordered that in the first place Court houses and Goals be first built in Convenient places for holding Courts of Assizes otherwise it would be in the choice of y^e Judges to remove y^e Assizes.

Ordered that the bill for Erecting Courts of Judicature be Engrossed. Adj. till Monday next at 9 in y^e morning.¹

At a meeting of the Councill at Boston in New England feb: 28th 1686.

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Knight Governor

Joseph Dudley	John Usher
Thos Hinckley	Barnaby Lathrop
Walter Clarke	Daniel Smith
John ffitz-Winthrop	John Walley
John Pincheon	Nat. Clarke
Wait Winthrope	Richard Arnold
Richard Wharton	John Alborough
	Edward Randolph

The Council Records of Massachusetts, vol. II., do not mention this meeting.

The Goldsmiths attend the Councill and report upon Mr Whartons paper that the raising pieces of Eight would bring them in plentifully but at the Same time occasion ye Shipping off New England money.

It was demanded of them what advantage would be to raise pieces of Eight to 7^s & 6 they answer that unless N. Eng^d money pass at the Same Value, would be all gone out of ye Country before any money would be brought in to supply the p^rsent occasions in trade.

Twas p^rposed that all whole pieces of Eight (peru excepted) 15 penny and upwards should pass currant at 6^d all other Bullion and plate of sterling alloy should pass currant at six & eight pence p^r ounce.

All other pieces 15 penny weight at 6^d.

Ordered That the four first tuesdays in March, June, Septemb^r and Decemb^r be the times of holding Quarterly Courts thro' the whole Territory.

Upon his Exce^t motion that all Writts should pass in his Maties name etc :

It was Ordered that all Writts should issue out of ye Clerks Office in ye Severall Courts wthin this Dom. in his Maties Name and under the Seal of the Office and Signed by the Clerke.

Adj. till ye afternoon at two a clock.¹

At a meeting of the Councill at Boston in New England feb. 25th 1686, at two in ye afternoon.

Present: His Exce^t Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t Govern^r

Joseph Dudley
Wm Stoughton
Tho. Hinckley
Walter Clarke
Jno. Fitz-Winthrop
John Pincheon
Wait Winthrop
Richard Wharton
John Usher
Bartho. Gedney

John Hincks
Barnaby Lathrop
Wm Bradford
Daniel Smith
John Walley
Nathaniel Clarke
Walter Newberry
Richard Arnold
John Alborough
Edward Randolph

A very long debate about Keeping of Courts of Assizes managed betwixt Road Island & Kings province his Exce^t declared it an unreasonable thing that Major Smith should beare the whole charge of that Court, besides that twas no place proper in regard there was not accommoda^{ti}on for such a Number of people as must necessarily attend,

¹ The *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., do not contain the petition of Robert Earle or the report of the goldsmiths. The following, however, is found: "A Bill for continuing severall Rates, duties and Imposts was read & ordered to be committed." "A Bill for Impowring Justices of the Peace to decide differances not exceeding forty shillings was likewise read and Committed." "A Bill for establishing Courts of Judicature and publick Justice was likewise read and Committed with this proviso, that all Writts shall issue out of the Clerks Office of the severall County Courts within this Dominion in his Maties name and under the Seal of the Office." The order for holding courts on the first Tuesdays in March, June, September and December is omitted. The afternoon session is also omitted.

and therefore Newport the most convenient place untill Rochester was settled & built.

The bill for holding Courts of Assizes was read a second time and Ordered to be Engrossed.

Ordered that a bill for the Imposts be p^rpared & brought in tomorrow morning.

Adj. till tomorrow morning at 9 of y^e Clock.

At a Councill held at Boston in New England Feb. y^e 26, 1686.

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andrs Kn^t Governour

Joseph Dudley
W^m Stoughton
Thos Hinckley
Walter Clarke
John fitz-Winthrop
Richard Wharton
John Usher
Barth^o Gedney

John Hincks
Barnaby Lathrop
W^m Bradford
John Walley
Nathaniel Clarke
Walter Newberry
Richard Arnold
John Alborough
Edward Randolph

A bill of Impost on Merchants goods &c. was read but in regard it was deficient It was Ordered That a new bill be prepared and that the Excise upon Wine Strong Waters, &c. be put in y^t bill and brought in to be Ordered.

Ordered That a bill appointing lawfull ports times and places for loading and unlivery of shipps and Vessells be prepared and brought in to be Read and brought in before the Councill adjourns.

Upon a question whether goods Landed and paying the Imposts in one port shall upon being removed pay duties in another port

Ordered that all masters producing a Certificate from the officers of the Customes That the duties were paid at y^e port of unlivery such goods shall pay no other duties and that care be taken for Masters to know their duty therein.

A long debate betwixt the proprietors of the Narraganset County and y^e Inhabitants of Rhoad Island about the place for holding Courts either party being unwilling to go from their own towns.

It was Ordered that in the first place Court houses and Goals be first built in Convenient places for holding Courts of Assizes otherwise it would be in the choice of y^e Judges to remove y^e Assizes.

Ordered that the bill for Erecting Courts of Judicature be Engrossed.

Adj. till Monday next at 9 in y^e morning.¹

At a meeting of the Councill at Boston in New England feb: 28th 1686.

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Knight Governor

Joseph Dudley
Thos Hinckley
Walter Clarke
John fitz-Winthrop
John Pincheon
Walt Winthrope
Richard Wharton

John Usher
Barnaby Lathrop
Daniel Smith
John Walley
Nat. Clarke
Richard Arnold
John Alborough
Edward Randolph

The Council Records of Massachusetts, vol. II., do not mention this meeting.

His Exces Letter to the Governour of Connecticut read in Councill ordered to be sent.

The bill for continueling and Setling the Revenue brought in but in regard Sev'll of y^e Members were absent twas Ordered to be Read tomorrow morning the first of the Councill.

nothing done then.

Adj. till tomorrow morning 9 a Clock.¹

At a Councill held in Boston, N: England March the 1st 1686,

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knight Governour

Joseph Dudley
Wm Stoughton
Walter Clarke
John fitz-Winthrop
John Pincheon
Peter Bulkeley
Walt Winthrop
Richard Wharton
John Usher

Bartho Gedney
John Hincks
Barnaby Lathrop
Wm Bradford
Daniel Smith
John Walley
Nat. Clarke
Richard Arnold
John Alborough
Edward Randolph

The bill for Continueling the duties of Impost and Excise read, a long discourse about the Rates set downe urged to be too high upon horses and Oxen answered twas according to the printed Law title publick Charges.

Twas alledged that the Rates for Land be ascertained an half penny an Acre on pasture Land but in regard it did not appear to be in the Law book twas not assented unto, however if there was any materiall Cause relating to defraying publick charges omitted it should be added to the bill of the Revenue.

Mr Stoughton, Mr Hinckley, Mr Wharton and Mr Whalley under Some pretence of haveing Some amendments made in the bill Were for delaying the passing the bill that morning, others objected it had not been read twice Since it was passed into a Bill.

Ordered That the bill for the Revenue be read a Second time.

The bill for the Revenue was read a Second time and then Ordered to be Engrossed with the addicon of the following proviso, (viz) That this Act of the Revenue and the Severall parts and branches thereof to Continue untill the Governour by and with the Advice and Consent of y^e Councill agree on and Settle Such other Rates, Taxes and Impositions, as shall be Sufficient for his Maties Governmt here.

Upon his Exces Insisting upon the whole Beaver trade to belong to his Matie It was Ordered

That Major Pincheon, Major Bulkeley, Mr Jonathan Tyng and the Treasurer be a Comtee for settling and Ordering the methods of the beaver trade wth the Indians, that they nominate fit places for trading houses &c. and that a Bill be prepared and brought in for that purpose.

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

Upon one of ye judges adviseing that a County Court was that day to be holden at Boston for ye County of Suffolk, It was Ordered That the following Order be forthwith published wch was accordingly done and affixed up in the Exchange in Boston and sent to all the Clerks of ye County Courts in ye Whole Governmt.

All persons concerned in any Action depending from the late Inferiour Courts of this Countey or other Countyes wthin this his Maties Dominion, and appointed to be heard by the Grand Assize the first day of March at Boston, or other Inferiour Court in any part of this Territory are to take notice that the Said Causes as also all Originall processes that have been out to any further Courts wherein any freehold is Concerned or other accon above the Value of twenty pounds in the County of Suffolk or ten pounds in any other County or province are Continued to be heard by the Superiour Court of Judicature at their first Sessions in the Severall Countyes and p'ints, as the same are now limited and appointed in an Act passed by the Govenor and Councill for that end.

God save the King.¹

At a Councill held in Boston on Thursday morning being the 2^d of March 1686.

Present: His Exce^{ty} Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governour.

Joseph Dudley	Bartho Gedney
William Stoughton	John Hincks
Thomas Hinckley	Barnaby Lathrop
Walter Clarke	William Bradford
John fitz-Winthrop	Daniel Smith
John Pincheon	John Whalley
Wait Winthrop	Nathaniel Clarke
Richard Wharton	Richard Arnold
John Usher	John Alborough
	Edward Randolph

&

The booke of the lawes of the late Government revised and amended by a Comtee of the Councill was called for and ordered to be read the lawes was read as Set downe alphabetically beginning at title Actions pa: 1.

Upon reading the clause in the law title bounds and power of Towns, ordering all Contracts and agreements made for ministers and Schoole mast^{rs} maintenance to remaine and be good for the whole time they are or may be made for &c. Whereupon Walter Clarke desired to be heard to that Clause and objected against it in regard the Ministers of New England are as much dissenters from the Church of England as the Quakers and therefore ought to be left to the Voluntary Contribution of their hearers Mr Hinkley, Mr Whalley and others strongly opposed

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the names of those present are not mentioned; instead is given "Present as yesterday." The entries are substantially the same but not so full as those in the original minutes. After the words "God save the King" is added "Ordered That copies of the Proclamation be sent to the severall Clerks of the County Courts for their direction." "That a Bill against Pirates and for prevention of Piracy be prepared and brought in."

allegding their Townships when first granted amongst other things were Enjoined the maintenance of a Settled Minister and that to be the first and principal Condition &c.

His Exce at last desired the discourse to wate till another time.

In law title Brewers p: 15: where it is ordered that all Connors to be chosen by the freemen, to be altered and chosen by the Justices and at there Court of Sessions.

Law titled Conveyances p: 35: to be considered as also law title possession p: 37: Debts by book p: 45: to be considered, ferryes p: 47: to be Settled by the Justices of the peace of the County where Such ferryes are.

Adj: till ye afternoon.¹

March: 2d post meridiem.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governr

Joseph Dudley	John Hincks
William Stoughton	Barnaby Lathrop
Tho. Hinckley.	William Bradford
Walter Clarke	Daniel Smith
John Pincheon	John Walley
Walt Winthrop	Nathaniel Clarke
Richard Wharton	Richard Arnold
John Usher	John Alborough
Bartho. Gedney	Edward Randolph.

The lawes were read over, a long discourse about fish and fowling grounds.

Adj: till tomorrow morning.²

At a Council held at Boston N. Engl^d March ye 3^d 1686.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governor

Joseph Dudley	Bartho Gedney
Tho: Hinckley	John Hincks
Walter Clarke	Wm Bradford
John Pincheon	John Walley
Peter Bulkeley	Nath: Clarke
Walt Winthrop	Richard Arnold
Jonath: Tyng	John Alborough
John Usher	Edward Randolph

The Act for trying Small Causes under forty Shillings by Justices of ye peace was pass'd by his Exce and Signed by the Secry.

An Act for Continueing and Establishing Several Rates, Dutyes and Imposts passed (nemine contradicente) by his Exce.³

An Act for Establishing Courts of Judicature and publick Justice passed by his Exce.⁴

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol II., there is no mention of this meeting.

² In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

³ See *Massachusetts Archives*, CXXVI., p. 270.

⁴ See *Massachusetts Archives*, CXXVI., p. 245, printed in *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, vol. III., p. 411.

A Bill agst pirates and piracy haveing been read twice was ordered to be Ingrossed.¹

Ordered That a bill for settling the Trade of ffurs with the Indians be p'pared, and that y^e Members of the Councilll do propose methods for increaseng his Majties Revenue by additionall Imposts Excise or otherwise as may raise a Sufficent and Speedy Supply to defray the charge of the Government.

Adj: till next morning nine a clock.²

At a Councilll held in Boston in New Engld March 4th 1686.

Present: His Exce S^r Edmond Andros Knight Govern^r

William Stoughton	Jonathan Tyng
Thomas Hinckley	Wm Bradford
Walter Clarke	John Walley
John Pincheon	Nathanl Clarke
Peter Bulkeley	John Alborough
Bartho. Gedney	Edward Randolph.

An Act against pirates and for the prevencon passed by his Exce.³

Order That the Order about Marriage be passed into a bill.

The former Law titled Cornfields, fences &c. to be drawn up into a Bill in Order to be passed. M^r Hinckley late Governou^r of New plym^o produced a paper and read it in Councilll, his Exce being dissatisfied at y^e Contents of it demanded it and M^r Clarke late Governou^r of Road Island finding that paper to promote the ministers maintenance he moved that all p'sons, who had not actually obliged themselves in the Severall Townships of this Governm^t to maintain the Minister should be left at their Liberty and not be p'ssed to pay against their Wills.

Upon the question how a rate for the support of y^e Government should be made up in the Towne where by death loss or removal of parties it falls short of y^e selectmens retorne the Constables in Such Towne So circumstanced are to be Very circumspect in their duty who are to have perticular regard to it and rep'sent the whole matter to y^e next County Courts who are to direct therein according to the matter required.

Severall Laws drawn up by the Comtee read over and referr'd to further Consideracon.

Adj: till to morrow morning at nine of the Clock.⁴

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 271, printed in *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, vol. III., p. 415.

² In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the names of those present are not given. The order for preparing a bill to settle the fur trade with the Indians, as well as the order to propose methods to increase the revenue, is omitted.

³ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 232.

⁴ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the names of those present are not given. The only entry is "The Bill against Piracy & Pirates passed."

See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 271.

At a Councill held in Boston March 5th 1686. Saturday morning.

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros K^t Governor

Joseph Dudley	John Usher
Tho. Hinckley	John Walley
John Pincheon	W ^m Bradford
Peter Bulkeley	Nat. Clarke
Wait Winthrop	John Alborough
Richard Wharton	Ed ^d Randolph

The Sec^y presented a bill to be passed for a Gen^l Registry as in Jamaica and read his Maj^{ties} Commission appointing him Sec^y and Sole Reg^r of this his Maj^{ties} Territory and Dom. etc.

It was p^oposed that the Clerks of the Severall County Courts should Register all Deeds Mortgages etc: and be accountable to the Sec^y but his Ex^{ce} say'd that was making the Sec^y and Reg^r an inferior officer to y^e Clerks of a County Courts and was besides the end of his Maj^{ties} Grant to the Sec^y.

It was Ordered and Assented to That the Sec^y is the Register of the Government, and do appoint his Deput^{ies} and to have fees according to his Commission.

That the bills for ordering ffences, pipe-staves and cattle be p^opared.

Adj: till tuesday morning next.¹

At a Councill held in Boston March y^e 8th

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros K^t Governor

Joseph Dudley	Richard Wharton
William Stoughton	John Usher
Tho. Hinckley	Joseph Tyng
John Pincheon	John Walley
Wait Winthrop	John Alborough
	and Edward Randolph

Ordered That a bill Intituled an Act to revise and continue the Severall orders in y^e returne of y^e Comtee be p^opared and under Considera^on untill the next Setting of the Councill, and that M^r Addington do in the mean time prepare the bill for the following orders,

Cask Gager and packer

Cattle, Cornffields & fences.

Constables, Conveyances and possessions Saveing to his Maj^{tie} his Rights whatsoever.

ffences, firing and Burning of Woods.

ffish and ffishermen, fornicac^on, Galloping in y^e Streets, Houses and New buildings in Boston, Indians and Nigroes.

A clause to be added in y^e order about Indians not to trust an Indian above ten shillings till he hath paid that Money.

Jurors, Marratime Laws. In y^e addition to Marratime Lawes the two last Clauses of halfe pay to Sallers in ports and bearing up in bad Weather for the West Indies to be Considered.

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

Estates of Intestates to be Considered before an Order made therein.

Marriage, pipe hheads and barrell Staves, porters, pounds, pedlars and petty chapmen, Records, Saboth, Saylers, Servants, Shipps, Shipp Carpenters, Strangers, Tyles, Bricks, Tolling of Cattle, Townships, Weights and Measures, Wharfage, Wolves, Witnesses, Wood, and to the End there may be no failure in ye Administracon of Justice the following order was Ordered to be published viz :

At a Councill held at Boston in New England on Tuesday the Eight of March 1686.

Present: His Exce the Govern^r etc.

Whereas there are the Severall Locall Laws and Orders not yet revised for wch bills are Order'd to be p^rpared against the next Session of ye Councill and that there be no defect for want thereof in ye mean time,

It is Ordered and Directed that the Severall Justices, Town officers and others p^rsons concerned do p^rceed in their Severall places and trusts according to former usage and direcons given by the late President and Councill and Such other Locall Lawes in the Severall parts of this Dominion as are not repugnant to the Laws of England, his Majties Commission for Governmt and Indulgence in matters of Religion nor any law or order made or passed by the Governour and Councill untill further order, Saving to his Majtie his Rights whatsoever.

Upon reading the humble petition of Benja : Church, John Rogers and Thomas Walker Selectmen of the Town of Bristoll in behalf of themselves and the purchasers of Mount hope neck upon which is now built the Town of Bristoll Setting forth that they purchased y^t land at a very dear Rate of the late Govern^r and Company of New plymouth, and to be free from all rates, taxes, and Impositions whatsoever for seven years and praying the benefit thereof till the Expiracon of that term,

It's Ordered

That they should be exempted from paying the Rate now to be Collected for Support of the Government, being the Condiccon of their purchase and Settlement.

Ordered upon the Treasurers motion that M^r Monk bring in his bill and be paid by the Treasurer.

Ordered that the Generall Councill be adjourned to the first Wednesday in May next.

Ordered That a Commission of Oyre and Terminer be passed for a Goal delivery in Boston

Ordered That Copies of ye orders of Councill made this meeting be sent to ye Severall Clerks of ye County Courts in this Government.

That M^r Addington prepare bills ag^t next meeting of ye Councill, & that he be paid for attending ye Comtee

Ordered ¹ That the Towns hereafter mentioned be the only allowed

¹ Given in *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXV1., p. 242, under date of March 10.

ports of Entry and Clearing of Vessells Tradeing in this his Majties Territory and Dom. of new England in America, vizt: Boston, Salem, portsmouth, pemaquid, Bristoll & Newport, and no others in this Dom: be allowed for Masters of Vessells to unliver and Load.

Adj: till afternoon.¹

At a Councill held in Boston March ye 10th 1686.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knight Governour.

Joseph Dudley	Richard Wharton
W ^m Stoughton	Jonathan Tyng
Tho. Hinckley	John Usher
John ffitz-Winthrop	John Walley
John Pincheon	Nathaniel Clarke
Wait Winthrop	and Edward Randolph.

It being represented by Some Members of ye Councill that twas very necessary for the Town of Boston and ye Country in Generall that the Orders lately made relating to Butchers, Slaughter houses, pedlers, and petty chapmen be Declared before the next Generall meeting of the Councill.

Twas Ordered that the said Orders be made Temporary and pass and be published accordingly.

Upon shewing the Inconvenience which would ensue upon delaying the time of holding ye County Courts in Boston and Charlestowne till the times directed in the Act for Establishing Courts of Judicature Its Ordered

That the word July shall be altered to Aprill for Boston Court, and at Charlestowne May for December and was accordingly alter'd nemine contradicente.

His Majties gracious Letter of the 31st of October directed to his Exce was againe Communicated to the Councill and it was Order'd that the principall Merchants in Boston and Salem be Consulted wth about the Raiseing peeces of Eight²

The Merchants are called into the Councill house and discoursed withall, and pray short time to give their opinion in Writing wch they do accordingly and is as follows,

1st. That the New England money Continue still at same rate as now it is, and that all possible restriction be made that none may be trans-

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the names of those present are not given. The entry in regard to the laws is not as full as in the original minutes. The orders relating to Mr. Monk, to the adjournment of the General Council, to Goal delivery and to ports are omitted. The following, however, is given, "Ordered That all peeces of Eight Civill [Seville] Piller and Mexico at due weight shall pass in payment at six shillings per peece, that half peeces of Eight, Quarter peeces & Realls do pass pro rato, & that an order be prepared and passed accordingly." In this order there is no mention of the New England money already coined. Compare order of March 10th given in the original minutes.

See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 240, in handwriting of Edward Randolph. See also *ibid.*, p. 271.

² See *Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. CXXVI. p. 272.

ported or melted downe upon penalty of forfeiture of the Same to the Informer and Such further Severe penalty as the Governour and Councill Shall See meet and that all Commanders of shipps, Merchants, factors & others as any doubt or Suspition may be had of be examined upon Oath touching the Same.

2d. That all Spanish money of Mexico, Civill and piller may pass at 6s 10d p^r ounce Troy.

3. That all Quarter peeces and reals, Mexico, Civill and piller may pass at 5s 4d p^r piece.

4. That all former Contracts may be paid in the currant New-England mony or in Spanish mony of Mexico, Civill or pillar at 6s 10d p^r oz. Troy.

The paper was p^resented to his Ex^{ce} by Mr Symon Lynds, and after further discourse about money—adjourned till ye afternoon.¹

Thursday in the afternoon :

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Knight Governour.

Joseph Dudley	Richard Wharton	} Esq ^{rs}
William Stoughton	John Usher	
Thos. Hinckley	Jonathan Tyng	
John Pincheon	Nathan. Clarke	
Wait Winthrop	Edward Randolph	

The Merchants and Goldsmiths attend, his Ex^{ce} demanded of the Goldsmiths of what Standard a good piece of Eight ought to be, they agreed that a good peece of Eight should [have?] seaventeen penny half-penny the peece.

The Merchants and Goldsmiths are ordered to withdraw, and after a long debate about mony his Ex^{ce} found out the designe of the Merchants to [consider?] mony a Commodity, and not to make it Currant mony at a price, It was ordered

That all peices of Eight of Civill Piller and Mexico of 17^d weight shall pass in payment at Six shillings a peece and that the p^resent New Engld mony do passe for value as formerly, the half peeces of Eight quarters Royalls and half Royalls do pass pro rato (is meant in Coyn and Value) Spanish pistolls at 4 penny 6 grains at 22^d N. E. money.

Adj: till Saturday morning next.²

At a Councill held in Boston New England March 12th 1686. Saturday morning.

Present: His Ex^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Knight Governor

Joseph Dudley	Richard Wharton
William Stoughton	John Usher
John Pincheon	Barnaby Lathrop
John Fitz-Winthrop	and Edward Randolph
Wait Winthrop	

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, Vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

See *Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. CXXVI., p. 242, in the handwriting of Edward Randolph.

² In *Council Records of Massachusetts* there is no mention of this meeting.

The Acts made this session were this day ordered to be published viz: the Act for Justices trying Small Causes viz: 40^s the Act for Establishing Courts of Judicature etc. the Act for the Revenue, the Act against pirates and the proclamacon for peeces of eight, and were accordingly published by beat of drum and Sound of trumpett, His Exce the Governour and Severall of the Members of ye Councill wth a great Number of people being present.¹

☞ Memd to in cert.

At a Councill held at Boston ye 17th March 1686.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knight Governour

Joseph Dudley

William Stoughton

John fitz-Winthrop

Richard Wharton

John Usher

Barnaby Lathrop

Edward Randolph

Upon the Treasurers informing That charges have arisen etc.

Ordered That the Treasurer bring in his accounts of the Incident charges arising upon the repair of the Castle and Mr Gibbs house and other things towards Supply of ye Souldiers and be accordingly allowed for it.

Upon reading the petition of Joseph Knight and Roger Courter relating to Slate Island

Ordered That a copie of ye petition be sent to the Selectmen of Hull, and that they give their answer in Writing.

A Church agreed upon in Boston for Such as hear divine service.²

At a Councill held at Boston in New England March 19th 1686.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governor

Joseph Dudley

William Stoughton

Walt Winthrop

Richard Wharton

John Usher

Walter Newberry

& Edward Randolph

Ordered that the Treasurers account of Incident charges amounting to above 140 £ be Examined by the Depty Auditor of his Mats Revenues in order for their allowance and Warrant for paymt

Ordered That the Treasurer issue out a Warrant to have all the Small

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the names of those present are not given. After the words "Sound of trumpett" is added "published in the open street nere the Towne House at the hour of twelve in the morning."

See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 273.

The laws enacted by Andros and his Council are found in *Connecticut Colonial Records*, vol. III., pp. 402—436.

² In the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., the names of those present are not given. After the order that the Treasurer's account be brought in is added "and that the Deputy Auditor of his Majties Revenues do examine and Report the same." The petition of Joseph Knight is omitted as well as the clause relating to the church in Boston. At the end is added "The foregoing are true copies.

Attested this 25 day of March 1687

Ed: Randolph Secy."

See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 273.

armes, ammunicon etc. wherever found to be brought to the Treasurer.

Marshall Winchcombs Peticon read and agreed by Captⁿ White to returne the goods to sayd Winchcomb w^{ch} was accordingly done.

Giles Dyer Peticon read and ordered accordingly.¹

At a Councill held at Boston in New England Aprill 2^d 1687. Saturday afternoon.

Present: His Exce^{ce} Sr Edmund Andros Knt Governour.

Joseph Dudley
W^m Stoughton
Wait Winthrop

Richard Wharton
John Usher
Barnaby Lathrop
Edward Randolph

His Exce^{ce} acquainted the Councill of ye necessity of settling Officers and their fees and appointed Wednesday at nine of ye Clock to meet at the Councill and agree upon the fees.

His Exce^{ce} sent for Capt^t fairweather, Atkins the Carpenter and other Carpenters, who had been appointed to survey the Dock at Charles towne and make the report of ye Charge to fitt that Dock to receive the King fisher, his Exce^{ce} would have Ballard one of the owners of the Dock under take that Work at a price, he refuseing the Same was offered to Atkins who said would not cost above Eighty pound, but would not under take it at that rate, but assured his utmost dilligence to compleat it against the next high Spring Tyde, about the End of Aprill and not Sooner, If it was concluded that the Shipp should be dockt His Exce^{ce} directed that Collonel Shrimpton and Major Lidget should be present to give their advice where needfull Mr Grimsditch Lieut^t of ye King fisher was present, and after his Exce^{ce} had asked all the Carpenters their opinion of ye best and Safest way to repair that Shipp they all agreed that docking her was the only way, to have her best repaired and p^rserve the Shipp from being straigned, Atkins the Carpenter p^rmitted to procure plank and timber, and Adams the Shipp Carpenter being appointed by Capt^t Hambleton to repair the Shipp, p^rmitted to gett his Tymber ready by that time the Dock was made fit, his Exce^{ce} promised Atkins a reward for his dilligence and encouraged him wth assurance that neither men nor materialls should be wanting upon the least notice given, Elliot the Carpenter was appointed by his Exce^{ce} to enter upon the Worke under Atkins.

Capt^t Sprague and Capt^t fairweather persons well acquainted wth that worke were appointed to be over Seer's. The Treasurer directed to provide twelve Wheele Burroughs Spades & Mattocks etc.

Ordered That the Order against Butchers killing meat in the Cheif parts of ye Towns be Considered at the next meeting.

Adj: till Wednesday the 6th Instant at 9 in the morning.²

¹In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

²In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, Vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

April 6. 87.

Present: William Stoughton
Walt Winthrop

Richard Wharton
John Usher
& Edward Randolph } Esq^{rs}

No Councill.

The marshalls fees examined and a paper of fees prepared by Wm Stoughton, Esq^{re} a Copple whereof follows: viz:

For Serveing a Writ in Boston or Charlestown if within one mile or []	£	1	"
Every miles Travell out 3 ^d and home 3 ^d	£	"	3
Levyng fines and execucons not exceeding £20 12 ^d p ^r pound	£	"	1
For all Sums above 20 £ and under 100 £			
9 ^d p ^r pound	£	"	9
All sums above 100 £ 2 ^½ p ^r pound	£	"	6
Every miles Travell above 20 miles out 2 ^d and home 2 ^d	£	"	2
Executing Writts of possession, Escheat, Assignment of Dower and of possession	£	"	4
Attendance on a prison p ^r diem	£	"	3
Every bond w th Suretyes for appear	£	"	6
Serveing a Sumons and Subpoena	£	"	6
Every Verdict	£	"	1
Replevin Serveing ¹	£	"	1

At a Councill held at Boston in New England April 18th 1687.

Present: His Exce^{ce} Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t Governour

Joseph Dudley
William Stoughton
Walt Winthrop

Richard Wharton
John Usher
Nathaneil Clarke
Edward Randolph } Esq^{rs}

The Names of the Justices of y^e peace Read.

Robert [Oalme?] proposed for a Justice of the peace for providence.

His Exce^{ce} discoursed about the arbitrary way of attaching goods and prison for debt.

Martalls to give Security.

Martiall Cox to be dismissed.

His Exce^{ce} proposes what Number of Judges, wth Assistants

Copie of Comission for the Judges of y^e Superiour Court read.

Attachments to be issued out of the Sec^{ry}'s Office wth Declaracons to be Entred wth the present Clerks appointed by the Sec^{ry}.

Ordered That the Clerks of the Severall Courts make a fair Roll of all fines, estates [escheats?] and amerclia^m due to his Mat^{ie} and return it to the Treas^r wthin ten dayes after the raising of each Court.

Mr Sherlock appointed Sherriffe for the County of Suffolk.

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, Vol. II., there is no mention of the foregoing.

An order was [sent?] to the Justices to meet and Consult about a fitt place with the Selectmen of Boston for a Market house also to prevent the comon nusance of Butchers Killing meat in the Town.

Councill to meet every Wednesday.

The petion of Cambridge Village to be heard next Councill and Notice to be given to all parties Concerned

Mr Masters to prosecute fellows for Majtie

Dr Bullivant to draw up Indictm^{ts} and arrain the prisoners.

At a Council held at Boston in New England Wednesday Aprill 20th 1687.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knight Governour.

Joseph Dudley		Richard Wharton	} Esq ^{rs}
William Stoughton		John Usher	
Wait Winthrop	&	Edward Randolph	

The Inhabitants of the Town of Cambridge Village attended the Councill and were called in and heard on both Sides their petitions read, and in regard the charge of the Bridge and the use of it is of considerable Import to the Country twas Ordered That the matter be refer'd till the first fryday in May next in Order to a finall determinacon.

His Exce acquainted the Councill that Capt Hambleton paid Some of the charge of the Dock for the Shipp King fisher. It was Ordered that Mr Shrimpton and Mr Lidgett should see what was fit to be done from time to time about the Shipp, and that the President acquaint Capt Hambleton that all Care shall be taken for their Supply and the Treasurer to pay the Charge.

James English and Grants petition read & ordered that a Certificate be made for their freedome.

The Treasurers two accounts of 115. li 19. 11.
and the other of £226. 1. 10.
were read and allowed of in Councill.

The Petition of Charles Cosweight read, & ordered that a copie of it be sent to Mr Jonathan Tyng and he to answer it Speedily.

Mr James Sherlock Sworn and had his Commission delivered him to be Sherriffe of ye County of Suffolk.

Adj: till munday next.¹

At a meeting of the Councill held in Boston Aprill 25th 1687.

Present: His Exce Sr Edmond Andros Knt Governor

Joseph Dudley		Richard Wharton
William Stoughton		John Usher
Wait Winthrop	&	Edward Randolph.

The Commissions to Mr Dudley and Mr Stoughten to be Judges of the Superiour Court Read and the Oath of Allegiance and the Oath for the due Executing the office of a Judge was also taken by them in Councill.

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, Vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

Upon reading a Scandalous Paper Sent to John Usher, Esq. bearing date the 16: of March 1686 Signed by Henry Woodis and four other persons Selectmen of the Town of Concord,

It is Ordered

That the said Henry Woodis and the other Selectmen of Concord be Summoned to appear before the Governour and Councilll at the Council house in Boston on the fourth day of May next to answer their Contempt of his Maties Government.

That Mr Treasurer do write to the Severall Towns behind in paying their Rates that they forthwith bring in their mony or appear on the Second of May next.¹

[On a separate sheet, but now bound with the original minutes, is the following in the handwriting of Edward Randolph:]

"June ye 9th 1687. Meind.

Mr Jo: West was Sworn in the Councilll Chamber his Excellency & Secry present & received from his Excellence a Commission under ye Seal of ye Govt to be Judge of ye Inferior Court of ye County of Suffolk."²

¹ In *Council Records of Massachusetts*, Vol. II., there is no mention of this meeting.

² The Dudley Records, referred to in the introductory remarks, have, since the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, been published in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for November, 1899.

THE FOREST OF DEAN.

BY JOHN BELLOWES.

THE Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, is one of the very few primeval Forests of Britain that have survived to this century. It has just been my privilege to accompany Senator Hoar on a drive through a portion of it, and he has asked me to write a few notes on this visit, for the American Antiquarian Society, in the hope that others of its members may share in the interest he has taken in its archæology.

I am indebted for many years' acquaintance with George F. Hoar, through Oliver Wendell Holmes, to the circumstance that the Hoar family lived in Gloucester from the time of the Tudors, if not earlier; and this has led him to pay repeated visits to our old city, with the object of tracing the history of his forefathers. In doing this he has been very successful; and only within the last few months my friend H. Y. J. Taylor, who is an untiring searcher of our old records, has come upon an item in the expenses of the Mayor and Burgesses, of a payment to Charles Hoar, in the year 1588, for keeping a horse ready to carry to Cirencester the tidings of the arrival of the Spanish Armada. And Charles Hoar's house is with us to this day, quaintly gabled, and with over-hanging timber-framed storeys, such as the Romans built here in the first century. It stands in Longsmith Street, just above the spot where forty years ago I looked down on a beautiful tessellated pavement of, perhaps, the time of Valentinian. It was eight feet below the present surface; for Gloucester, like Rome, has been a rising city.

Senator Hoar had been making his headquarters at Malvern, and he drove over from there one afternoon, with a view to our going on in the same carriage to the Forest. A better plan would have been to run by rail to Newnham or Lydney, to be met by a carriage from the "Speech House", a government hotel in the centre of the woods; but as the arrangement had been made we let it stand.

To give a general idea of the positions of the places we are dealing with, I may say that Upton Knoll, where I am writing, stands on the steep edge of a spur of the Cotteswold Hills, three and a half miles south of Gloucester. Looking north, we have before us the great vale, or rather plain, of the Severn, bounded on the right by the main chain of the Cotteswolds, rising to just over one thousand feet; and on the left by the hills of Herefordshire, and the beautiful blue peaks of the Malverns; these last being by far the most striking feature in the landscape, rising as they do in a sharp serrated line abruptly from the plain below. They are about ten miles in length, and the highest point, the Worcestershire Beacon, is some fourteen hundred feet above the sea. It is the spot alluded to in Macaulay's lines on the Armada—

"Till twelve fair counties saw the fire on Malvern's lonely height"; and two hundred years before the Armada it was on "Malvern hilles" that William Langland "forwandered" till he fell asleep and dreamed his fiery Vision of Piers Plowman—

"In a somere season, when softe was the sonne"

when, looking "esteward, after the sonne" he beheld a castle on Bredon Hill

"Truthe was ther-ynne"

and this great plain, that to him symbolized the world.

"A fair feld ful of folke fonde ich ther bytwyne;
Alle manere of men; the mene and the ryche."

Now, in the afternoon light, we can see the towns of Great

and North Malvern, and Malvern Wells, nestling at foot of the steep slant; and eight miles to the right, but over thirty from where we stand, the cathedral tower of Worcester. The whole plain is one sea of woods with towers and steeples glinting from every part of it; notably Tewkesbury Abbey, which shines white in the sunlight some fourteen miles from us. Nearer, and to the right, Cheltenham stretches out under Cleeve Hill, the highest of the Cotteswolds; and to the left Gloucester, with its Cathedral dwarfing all the buildings round it. This wooded plain before us dies away in the north into two of the great Forests of ancient Britain; Wyre, on the left, from which Worcester takes its name; and Feckenham, on the right, with Droitwich as its present centre. Everywhere through this area we come upon beautiful old timber-framed houses of the Tudor time or earlier; Roman of origin, and still met with in towns the Romans garrisoned, such as Chester and Gloucester, though they have modernized their roofs, and changed their diamond window panes for squares, as in the old house of Charles Hoar, previously mentioned.

Now if we turn from the north view to the west, we get a different landscape. Right before us, a mile off, is Robin's Wood Hill, a Cotteswold outlier; in Saxon times called "Mattisdun" or "Meadow-hill," for it is grassed to the top, among its trees. "Matson" House, there at its foot, was the abode of Charles I. during his siege of Gloucester in 1643. To the left of this hill we have again the Vale of the Severn, and beyond it, a dozen miles away, and stretching for twenty miles to the southwest are the hills of the Forest of Dean. They are steep, but not lofty—eight hundred or nine hundred feet. At their foot yonder, fourteen miles off, is the lake-like expanse of the Severn; and where it narrows to something under a mile is the Severn Bridge that carries the line into the Forest from the Midland Railway. Berkeley Castle lies just on

the left of it, but is buried in the trees. Thornbury Tower, if not Thornbury Castle, further south, is visible when the sun strikes on it. Close to the right of the bridge is an old house that belonged to Sir Walter Raleigh; and, curiously enough, another on the river bank not far above it is said to have been occupied by Sir Francis Drake just before the coming of the Armada. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, who commanded the Spanish fleet, was ordered to detach a force as soon as he landed, to destroy the Forest of Dean, which was a principal source for timber for the British navy; and it is probable that the Queen's ministers were aware of this and took measures in defence, with which Drake had to do.

Two miles lower than the bridge is the Forest port of Lydney, now chiefly used for shipping coal; and as the ex-Verderer of the Forest resides near it, and he would be able to furnish information of interest to our American visitor, we decided to drive to Lydney to begin.

It was too late to start the same day, however; and Senator Hoar stayed at Upton, where his visit happens to mark the close of what is known as the "open-field" system of tillage; a sort of midway between the full possession of land by freehold, and unrestricted common rights. The area over which he walked, and which for thousands of years has been divided by "meres" and boundary stones, is now to be enclosed, and so will lose its archaeological claims to interest. In one corner of it, however, there still remains a fragment of Roman road, with some of the paving stones showing through the grass of the pasture field. The name of this piece of land gives the clue to its history. It is called Sandford; a corruption of Sarn ford, from *sarnu* (pronounced "sarney") to *pave*; and *fford*, a road. These are Celtic-Cornish and Welsh words; and it should be noted that the names of the Roman roads in the Island as well as those of the moun-

tains and rivers, are nearly all Celtic, and not Latin or Saxon.¹

We made a short delay in the morning, at Gloucester, to give Senator Hoar time to go on board the boat "Great Western" which had just arrived in our docks from Gloucester, Massachusetts, to visit the mother city, after a perilous voyage across the Atlantic by Captain Blackburn single-handed. Senator Hoar having welcomed the captain in his capacity of an old Englishman and a New Englander "rolled into one," we set out for Lydney, skirting the bank of one arm of the Severn which here forms an island. It was on this Isle of Alney that Canute and Edmund Ironside fought the single-handed battle that resulted in their dividing England between them.² We pass on to the Island at Westgate Bridge; and a quarter of a mile further leave it by Over Bridge; one of Telford's beautiful works. Just below it the Great Western Railway crosses the river by an iron bridge, the western piers of which rest upon Roman foundations.

One remarkable thing which I believe I forgot to mention to George Hoar as we crossed the Island, is, that the meadows on both sides of the causeway belong to the "Freemen" of the city; and that, go back as far as we may in history, we cannot find any account of the original foundation of this body. But we have this clue to it—that Gloucester was made into a Colony in the reign of Nerva, just before the end of the first century; and in each Roman colony lands were allotted to the soldiers of the legions who had become freemen by reason of having served for twenty-five years. These lands were always on the side of the city nearest the enemy; and the lands we are crossing are on the western side of Glevum, nearest the *Silures*, or South Welsh, who were always the most

¹ The Whitcombe Roman Villa, four miles east of Upton, stands in a field called Sandals. In Lyson's description of it, written in 1819, it stands as *Sandells*. The paved road ran through the dell.

² Sharon Turner's "Anglo Saxons," Vol. III., Chap. XV.

dangerous enemies the Romans had in Britain. Similarly, at Chester, the freemen's lands are on the west, or enemy's side, by the Dee. In Bath it was the same.

Immediately after passing "Over" Bridge we might turn off, if time permitted, to see Lassington Oak, a tree of giant size and unknown age; but as Emerson says—

"There's not enough for this and that.
Make thy option which of two!"

and we make ours for Lydney. A dozen miles drive, often skirting the right bank of the Severn, brings us to Newnham, a picturesque village opposite a vast bend, or horse-shoe, of the river, and over which we get a beautiful view from the burial ground on the cliff. The water expands like a lake, beyond which the woods, house-interpersed, stretch away to the blue Cotteswold Hills; the monument to William Tyndale being a landmark on one of them—Nibley Knoll. Just under that monument was fought the last great battle between Barons. This battle of Nibley Knoll, between Lord Berkeley and Lord Lisle, left the latter dead on the field, at night, with a thousand of the men of the two armies; and made Lord Berkeley undisputed master of the estates whose name he bore.

We now leave the river, and turn inland; and in a short time we have entered the Forest of Dean proper; that is, the lands that belong to the Crown. Their area may be roughly set down as fifteen miles by ten; but in the time of the Conqueror, and for many years after, it was much larger; extending from Ross on the north, to Gloucester on the east, and thence thirty miles to Chepstow on the southwest. That is, it filled the triangle formed by the Severn and the Wye between these towns. It is doubtless due to this circumstance of its being so completely cut off from the rest of the country by these rivers, that it has preserved more remarkably than any other Forest the characteristics and customs of ancient British life, to which

we shall presently refer; for their isolation has kept the Dean Foresters to this hour a race apart.

Sir James Campbell, who was for between thirty and forty years the chief "Verderer," or principal government officer of the Forest, lives near Lydney. He received us with great kindness, and gave us statistics of the rate of growth of the oak, both with and without transplantation. Part of them are published in an official report on the Forest (A 12808. 6/1884. Wt. 3276. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London), and part are in manuscript with which Senator Hoar has been presented. Briefly, the chief points are these:

In 1784 or thereabout acorns were planted in "Acorn Patch Enclosure" in the Forest; and in 1800 trees marked A and B were taken from this place and planted opposite the "Speech House." Two, marked D and F, were drawn out of Acorn Patch in 1807 and planted near the Speech House fence. Another, marked N, was planted in 1807, five and one-half feet high, in the Speech House grounds, next the road; and L, M, N, X, have remained untransplanted in the Acorn Patch.

The dimensions were (circumference, six feet from the ground), in inches—

		A	B	D	F	L	M	N	X
In 1814,	Oct. 5,	14 $\frac{3}{4}$	14	11	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{5}{8}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
1824,	Oct. 20,	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	28 $\frac{3}{4}$	25 $\frac{3}{8}$	22 $\frac{1}{8}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{3}{4}$	30 $\frac{1}{8}$	32 $\frac{1}{8}$
1844,	Oct. 5,	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	58	45	46	35	34 $\frac{1}{2}$	57	44 $\frac{1}{2}$
1864,	Oct. 1,	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	71	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	67 $\frac{3}{4}$	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	44	73 $\frac{1}{2}$	56

Another experiment tried by Sir James Campbell himself gave the following results:

Experiment begun in 1861 to test the value, if any, of merely lifting and replanting oak trees in the same holes without change of soil, situation, or giving increased space; as compared with the experiment already detailed, which was begun in 1800.

In 1861, twelve oak trees of about 25 years' growth,

which had been self-sown (dropping from old trees afterwards cut down) in a thick plantation, were selected, all within gunshot of each other, and circumferences measured at five feet from the ground. Of these, six were taken up and immediately replanted in the same holes. The other six were not interfered with at all.

Aggregate admeasurement of
six dug up and replanted.
Marked in *white* paint 1,
2, 3, &c.

Aggregate admeasurement of
six not interfered with.
Marked in *red* paint 1, 2,
3, &c.

1861, 24½ inches.	27 inches	(<i>i. e.</i> , 2½ inches more than the transplanted ones, at starting.)
1866, 37¾ "	46½ "	(<i>i. e.</i> , 10¼ inches more than the transplanted ones, at starting.)
1886, 118¼ "	118½ "	(<i>i. e.</i> , the transplanted ones had now <i>regained</i> 10¼ inches.)
1888, 125½ "	123½ "	(The transplanted trees in '88 had outgrown the others by 2 ins.)
1890, 133¾ "	128 "	(The transplanted trees in '90 had outgrown the others by 5¼ ins.)
1892, 141 "	131¼ "	(The transplanted trees in '92 had outgrown the others by 9¼ ins.)

Thus proving that merely transplanting is beneficial to oaks; the benefit, however, being greater when the soil is changed and more air given.¹

From Lydney a drive of a few miles through pleasant ups and downs of woodland and field, brings us to White-mead Park, the official residence of the Verderer, Philip Baylis. The title "Verderer" is Norman, indicating the administration of all that relates to the "Vert" or "Greenery" of the Forest; that is, of the timber, the enclosures, the roads, and the surface generally. The Verderer's Court is held at the "Speech House," to which we shall presently come: but the Forest of Dean is also a mineral district, and the Miners have a separate Court of their own. That some of their customs go back to a very remote antiquity we may well believe when we find the scale on which the Romans worked iron in the Forest; a scale so great that

¹ The Earl of Ducie, who has had very large experience as an arboriculturist, does not hold the view that oaks are benefited by transplanting, if the acorns are sown in good soil.

In the case of trees that show little or no satisfactory progress after four years, but are only just able to keep alive, he cuts them down to the root. In the next season 80 per cent. of them send up shoots from two to three feet high, and at once start off on their life's mission.

with their imperfect method of smelting with Catalan furnaces, etc., so much metal was left in the Roman cinder that it has been sought after all the way down to within the present generation as a source of profit; and in the time of Edward I., one-fourth of the king's revenue from this Forest was derived from the remelted Roman refuse.

I have a beautiful Denarius of Hadrian which was found in the old Roman portion of the Lydney-Park Iron Mine in 1854, with a number of other silver coins, some of them earlier in date; but when we speak of "mines," the very ancient ones in the Forest were rather deep quarries than what would now be termed mines. As we drive along we now and then notice near the roadside, nearly hidden by the dense foliage of the bushes, long dark hollows, which are locally known as "*scowles*," another Celtic word meaning gorges or hollows; something like ghyll in the Lake District, "Dungeon Ghyll," and so on. These were Roman and British Hematite mines. If we had been schoolboys I would have taken Senator Hoar down into a scowl and we should both have come back with our clothes spoiled, and our arms full of the splendid hartstongue ferns that cover the sides and edges of the ravine. But they are dangerous places for any but miners or schoolboys; and I shrank from encouraging an enthusiastic American to risk being killed in a Roman pit, even with the ideal advantage of afterwards being buried with his own ancestors in England! So I said but little about them.

The Miners' Court is presided over by another government officer, called the "Gaveller"; from a Celtic word which means *holding*; as in the Kentish custom of "Gavelkind."¹ These courts are held in "Saint Briavels" (pronounced "Brevels") Castle: a quaint old building of the thirteenth century, on the western edge of the Forest, where it was placed to keep the Welsh in check. It looks

¹ I suspect "Gaffer," the English equivalent of "Boss," may be from the same root: *i. e.*, the *taker* or contractor.



down on a beautiful reach of the river Wye at Bigsweat; and it was just on this edge that Wordsworth stood in 1798, when he thought out his "Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey," etc.

"Five years have passed; five summers, with the length
Of five long winters; and again I hear
These waters rolling from their mountain springs
With a soft inland murmur. Once again
Do I behold these steep and lofty cliffs."

Senator Hoar will recall the scene from the railway below:
the

"Plots of cottage ground" that "lose themselves
'Mid groves and copses";

and he will say how exactly the words describe

"These hedge-rows; hardly hedge-rows; little lines
Of sportive wood run wild,"

for they cover yards in width in some places, as he will remember my pointing out to him. The castle is placed on the outside of the Forest and close on the Wye, to guard what was seven centuries ago the frontier of Wales; and the late William Philip Price (Commissioner of Rail-

ways and for many years member of Parliament for Gloucester) told me that when he was a boy the Welsh tongue was still spoken at Landogo, the next village down the river, midway between Bigswear and Tintern.

Philip Baylis showed us some of the old parchments connected with the Mine Court; one document especially precious being a copy of the "Book of Denys," made in the time of Edward III. It sets forth the ancient customs which formed the laws of the miners. At this point the Verderer had to settle some matter of the instant, but he put us under the care of a young man who acted as our guide to one of the ancient and giant oaks of the Forest, on the "Church Hill" enclosure, about three-quarters of a mile up the hill above the Park. Nicholls ("History of the Forest of Dean," page 20) thinks the name Church Hill comes from the setting apart of some land here for the Convent of *Grace Dieu* to pay for masses for the souls of Richard II., his ancestors and successors.

It was a steep climb; and the evening twilight was coming on apace as we followed the little track to the spot where the old oak rises high above the general level of the wood, reminding one of Rinaldo's magical myrtle, in "Jerusalem Delivered":

"O'er pine, and palm, and cypress it ascends:
And towering thus all other trees above
Looks like the elected queen and genius of the grove!"

Only that for an *oak* of similar standing we must say "king" instead of "queen"; emblem as it is of iron strength and endurance.

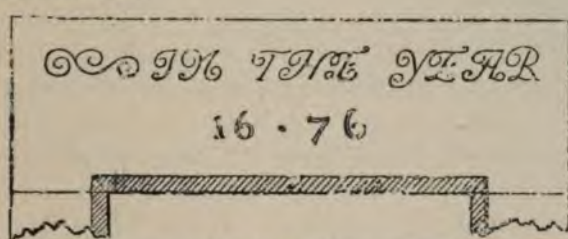
It is not so much the girth of the tree as its whole bearing that impresses a beholder; and I do not think either of us will forget its effect in the gloom and silence and mystery of the gathering night.

Resisting a kindly pressure to stay the night at White-mead, that we might keep to our programme of sleeping at the Speech House, we started on the last portion of the

long day's drive. The road from Parkend, after we have climbed a considerable hill, keeps mostly to the level of a high ridge. It is broad and smooth; and the moonlight and its accompanying black shadows on the trees made the journey one of great beauty; while the mountain air lessened the sense of fatigue that would otherwise have pressed heavily on us after so long a day amid such novel surroundings. The only thing to disturb the solitude is the clank of machinery, and the lurid lights, as we pass a colliery; and then a mile or two more with but the sound of our own wheels and the rhythm of the horses' feet, and we suddenly draw up at an hotel in the midst of the Forest, its quiet well-lighted interior inviting us through the doorway, left open to the cool summer night air. We are at the Speech House. We had bespoken our rooms by wire in the morning: Senator Hoar had a *chambre d'honneur*, with a gigantic carved four-post bed that reminded him of the great bed of Ware. His room like my "No. 5," looked out over magnificent bays of woodland to the north. The Speech House is six hundred feet above the sea, and the mountain breeze coming through the wide open window, with this wonderful prospect of oak and beech and holly in the moonlight,—the distance veiled, but scarcely veiled, by the mist, suggest a poem untranslatable in words, and incommunicable except to those who have passed under the same spell. We speak of a light that makes darkness visible; and similarly there are sounds that deepen the long intervals of silence with which they alternate. One or two vehicles driving past; now and then the far-off call of owls answering one another in the woods—one of the sweetest sounds in nature—the varying cadence carrying with it a sense of boundlessness and infinite distance; and with it we fall asleep.

If there is anything more beautiful than a moonlight summer night in the heart of the Forest of Dean, it is its transformation into a summer morning, with the

sparkle of dew on the grass, and the sunrise on the trees ; with the music of birds, and the freshness that gives all these their charm.



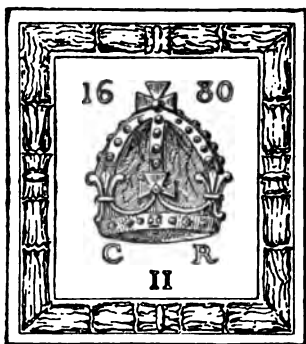
STONE OVER NORTH DOOR OF THE SPEECH HOUSE.

As soon as we are dressed we take a stroll out among the trees. In whichever direction we turn we are struck by the abundance of hollies. I believe there are some three thousand full grown specimens within a radius of a mile of the Speech House. This may be due to the spot having been from time immemorial the central and most important place in the Forest. The roads that lead to it still show the Roman paving-stones in many places, as Senator Hoar can bear witness ; and the central point of a British Forest before the Roman time would be occupied by a sacred oak. The Forest into which Julius Cæsar pursued the Britons to their stronghold, was Anderida, that is, the Holy Oak ; from *dar*, oak (Sanskrit, *daru*, a tree), and *da*, good. It is worth remarking that this idea survives in the personal name, Holyoak ; for who ever heard of "Holyelm," or "Holyash," or a similar form compounded of the adjective and the name of any other tree than the oak ? If there is an exception it is in the name of the *holly*. The Cornish Celtic word for holly was Celyn, from Celli (or Kelli), a grove ; literally a *grove-one* ; so that the holly was probably planted as a grove or screen round the sacred oak. Such a planting of a holly grove in the central spot of the Forest in the Druid time, would account for these trees being now so much more numerous round the Speech House than they are in any other part of the

woods. The Saxon name is merely the word *holy* with the vowel shortened, as in *holiday*; and that the tree really was regarded as holy is shown by the custom in the Forest Mine Court of taking the oath on a stick of holly held in the hand. This custom survived down to our own times; for Kedgwin H. Fryer, the late Town Clerk of Gloucester, told me he had often seen a miner sworn in the Court, touching the bible with the holly stick! The men always kept their caps on when giving evidence to show they were "Free miners."

The oaks, marked A. B., of whose growth statistics have already been given, stand on the side of the Newnham road opposite the Speech House. The Verderer is carrying on the annual record of their measurements.

We return to the house by the door on the west; the one at which we arrived last evening. It was then too dark to observe that the stone above it, of which I took a careful sketch several years ago, is crumbling from the effects of weather, after having withstood them perfectly for two centuries. The crown on it is scarcely recognizable; and the lettering has all disappeared except part of the R. This is as it appeared when I copied it. Steps are being taken to preserve what is left by melting hard paraffin wax into the surface of the stone.



We breakfast in the quaint old Court room. Before us is the railed-off dais, at the end, where the Verderer and

assistants sit to administer the law. On the wall
and them are the antlers of a dozen stags; reminders
time, about the middle of the present century, when
herds of deer were destroyed on account of the con-
al poaching to which they gave occasion. Many of
cases that come before the Court now are of simple
pass.

This quaint old room, with its great oak beam overhead,
its kitchen grate wide enough to roast a deer—this
strange blending of an hotel dining-room and a Court of
justice, has nevertheless a link with the far distant past
more wonderful than anything that has come down to us
the ruins of Greece or Rome.

Look at the simple card that notifies the dates of hold-
ing the Verderer's Court. Here is an old one which the
Verderer, Philip Baylis, has kindly sent to Senator Hoar
in response to his request for a copy.

V. R.

Her Majesty's Forest of Dean,
Gloucestershire.

VERDERERS' COURT.

Verderers :

Charles Bathurst, Esq. Sir Thomas H.
Crawley-Boevey, Bart.
Maynard Willoughby Colchester-Wemyss, Esq.
Russell James Kerr, Esq.

Deputy-Surveyor :

Philip Baylis, Esq.

Steward :

James Wintle.

—NOTICE.—

The VERDERERS of Her Majesty's Forest of Dean hereby give
Notice that the COURT of ATTACHMENT of our Sovereign Lady the
Queen for the said Forest will be holden by adjournment, at the Speech
House, in the said Forest, at half-past Two o'clock, in the afternoon,
on the following days during the year 1897, viz. :

Wednesday, the 27th January ;
Monday, the 8th March ;
Saturday, the 17th April ;
Thursday, the 27th May ;

Tuesday, the 6th July;
Monday, the 16th August;
Friday, the 24th September;
Wednesday, the 3rd November;
Monday, the 13th December.

James Wintle,
Steward.

Newnham, 1st January, 1897.

Many years ago I stood in this Court Room examining a similar notice, puzzled at the absence of any system or order in the times appointed for the sittings, which did not come once a month, or every six weeks; and did not even fall twice in succession on the same day of the week. Turning to the landlord of the hotel I asked, "What is the rule for holding the Court? *When* is it held?" "*Every forty days at twelve o'clock at noon*" was the reply. Reflection showed that so strange a periodicity related to no notation of time with which we are now in touch; it must belong to a system that has passed away; but what could this be?

We are reminded by the date of the building we are in (1680), that the room itself cannot have been used for much more than two centuries for holding the Courts.

But there was a Verderer's Court held in several Forests besides this Forest of Dean, long before the Stuart days. The office itself is mentioned in Canute's Forest Charter, dating back nearly nine hundred years; and as at that period about a third of England was covered with Forests, their influence must have been very powerful; and local laws and customs in them must have been far too firmly established for such a man as Canute to alter them. He could only have confirmed what he found; much as he confirmed the laws of nature as they affected the tides at Southampton!

The next Forest Charter of national importance after Canute's, is that of Henry III., in 1225. It is clear that he, again, made no material change in the old order of things; and in recapitulating the old order of the Forest

Courts, he ordains that the Court of Attachment (called in Dean Forest the Court of the Speech) was to be held *every forty days*. This Court was one of first instance, simply for the hearing of evidence and getting up the cases for the "Swainmote,"¹ which came *three times a year*. The Swains were free men ; and at their *mote* evidence was required from *three* witnesses in each case, on which the Verderer and other officers of the king passed sentence in accordance with the laws laid down in this Charter. From this Swainmote there was a final appeal to the High Court of the Judges in Eyre (Eyre, from "error" to wander, being the Norman French for Itinerant, or, on Circuit) which was held *once in three years*.

The forty-day court was common to all the ancient forests of Britain ; and that they go back to *before* the time of Henry III. is clear from the following extracts from Coke's Fourth Institute, for which I am indebted to the kindness of James G. Wood, of Lincoln's Inn.

CAP. LXXIII.

Of the Forests and the Jurisdiction of the Courts
[p 289] of the Forest.

* * * * *

And now let us set down the Courts of the Forest—Within *every* Forest there are these Courts

1—The Court of the Attachments or the Woodmote Court. This is to be kept before the Verderors every forty days throughout the year—and thereupon it is called the Forty-day Court—At this Court the Foresters bring in the Attachments de viridi et venalione [&c &c]

* * * * *

2—The Court of regard or Survey of days is holden every third year [&c &c]

* * * * *

¹ That the Forest Charter of Hen. III. did not establish these courts is proved from a passage in Manwood, cap. 8, which runs thus: "And the said Swainmotes shal not be kept but within the counties in the which they have been used to be kept."

3. The Court of Swainmote is to be holden before the Verderors as judges by the Steward of the Swainmote thrice in every year [&c]

* * * * *

4. — — — The Court of the Justice Seat holden before the Chief Justice of the Forest — — aptly called Justice in eire — — — and this Court of the Justice Seat cannot be kept oftener than every third year.

* * * * *

[319] *For the antiquity of such Forests within England as we have treated of the best and surest argument thereof is that the Forests in England (being in number 69) except the New Forest in Hampshire erected by William the Conqueror as a conqueror, and Hampton Court Forest by Hy 3, by authority of Parliament, are so ancient as no record or history doth make any mention of any of their Erections or beginnings.*

Here then we have clear evidence that nearly seven hundred years ago the Verderer's Court was being held at periods of time that bore no relation to any division of the year known to the Normans or Plantagenets, or, before them, to the Saxons, or even, still earlier, to the Romans. We are, therefore, driven back to the period before the Roman invasion in Britain, and when the Forest legislation was, as Cæsar found it, in the hands of the Druids. In his brief and vivid account of these people he tells us that they used the Greek alphabet; and as he also says they were very proficient in astronomy, it seems clear that they had their astronomy from the same source as their literature. Their astronomy involved of necessity their notation of time. And the Greeks, in turn, owed their astronomy to the Egyptians, with whom the year was reckoned as of three hundred and sixty days; and this three hundred and sixty-day year gives us the clue to the forty-day period for holding the Forest Courts in Ancient Britain.

We cannot fail to be struck, as we examine the old Forest customs, with the constant use of the *number three*, as a sacred or "lucky" number, on every possible occasion. We have just seen the rôle it plays in the Mine Court, with its *three* presiding officials, its jury of multiples of *three* (twelve, twenty-four, forty-eight); its holly stick oath sworn by *three* witnesses. We have noticed the Swainmote Court, also requiring *three* witnesses, held *three* times a year, and subordinate to the Court of Eyre held once in *three* years; to which should be added the perambulation of the Forest bounds at the same triennial visit in Eyre, when the king's officers were accompanied by nine foresters in fee (*three threes*) and twenty-four jurors (*eight threes*).

To go fully into the rôle of the number three in British traditions would require a profound study; but it may be useful briefly to note its influence on the Bardic poetry—the Triads, where the subjects are all grouped in threes. Nor was this predilection confined to the Island. We find it affecting the earliest history of Rome itself, with its *nine* gods ("By the nine gods he swore") and the *nine* books which the Sibyl destroyed by *threes*, till the last *three* were saved. Then we have the evidence in the name *nundina*¹ for a market, that the week was originally a cycle not of seven, but of *nine* days; and our own saying that a given thing is a "*nine days' wonder*" is undoubtedly a survival from the period when the nine days made a week,² for such a phrase expresses a round number or unit of time; not *nine separate* days.

¹The Romans meant by *nundinæ* periods that were really of eight days; but they made them nine by counting in the one *from* which they started. So accustomed were they to this method of notation that the priests who had the control of the calendar, upset Julius Caesar's plan for intercalating a day once in *four* years ("Bissextile") by insisting that the interval intended was *three* years! Augustus was obliged to rectify this by dropping the overplus day it occasioned.

It is this Roman custom of *inclusive* reckoning which has led to the French calling a week *huit jours*, and a fortnight, *une quinzaine*.

²The word week comes from *wika* (=Norsk *vika*) to bend or turn. The idea connected with it was no doubt that of the moon's turning from one of its quarters to

Shakespeare had been struck with the relationship of the *nine* day week, alluded to in the proverb, to the more modern one of seven days, as is shown by his very clever juxtaposition of the two in "As You Like It." In Act III., Scene 2, he makes Celia say to Rosalind

"But didst thou hear *without wondering* how thy name should be hanged and carved upon these trees?"

And Rosalind replies

"I was *seven* of the *nine* days out of the wonder before you came"—etc.

Gloucester, down till the Norman time, and after, was the great manufactory of the iron brought from the Forest of Dean. The metal was brought up the Severn by barges, to the quay which stood at the road running straight down from Longsmith Street (in which Charles Hoar's house stands), and buried under all this street we find the cinder and slag of the Roman forges. In Domesday Book (which was ordered to be drawn up at a Parliament in Gloucester in 1083) it states that the City had paid to the king (*i. e.*, Edward the Confessor) ten *dicres* of iron yearly. This is very remarkable, for a *dicre* was three dozen rods or bars; so that the whole tribute was three hundred and sixty bars, or *one bar per day for the Druid year of three hundred and sixty days*.¹

And now we come back to the Verderer's Court at the

the next. I can remember when some of the people in "the Island" in Gloucester always made a point of *turning* any coins they had in their pockets when it was new moon and repeating a sort of invocation to the moon! How or when the *nine* day week was exchanged by western nations for the seven day one, we do not know; but it is likely that it may have been brought about by the Phœnicians and Jews, who regarded the number *seven* as the Druids regarded *three*—as something especially sacred. They had much of the commerce of Southern Europe in their hands, and, therefore, a certain power in controlling the markets, which it would be a convenience to Jews to *prevent* falling on the sabbath day. The circumstance that the lunar month fitted in with four weeks of seven days no doubt made it easier to effect the change from *nundina*.

¹ For more than a century after Julius Caesar had altered the year to three hundred and sixty-five days, the Roman soldiers were still paid at the ancient rate of three hundred and sixty days only, losing the rest as "*terminalia*," or days not counted as belonging to the year! The proof of this is that in the time of Domitian a soldier's *year's* pay divided by three hundred and sixty gives an even number of *ases*.

Speech House with a clear reason for its being held "*every forty days at twelve o'clock at noon.*"

Forty days was the *ninth* of the Druid year of three hundred and sixty, and was a period of five weeks of eight days each, but which according to the ancient method of counting were called "*nine-days.*" And the reason the Court sits "at Twelve o'clock at noon" is because the Druid day began at noon. Even now, within ten miles of where I write, the children on Minchinhampton Common, on the Cotteswold Hills, keep up "*old May Day,*" which was the opening of the Druid year, though they are ignorant of this. Boys and girls arm themselves on that day with boughs of the beech, and go through certain games with them; but exactly as the clock strikes *twelve* they throw them away, under pain of being stigmatized as "*May fools!*"

Well has Oliver Wendell Holmes put it, that "*All things are in all things!*" Even this common-place list of Court days in the Forest of Dean becomes a beautiful poem when the light of such a past shines on it; just as the veriest dust of the Krakatoan volcano evolves itself into every color of the rainbow when it rises into the sunset sky.

Since writing this paper I find that Philip Baylis, the Verderer of the Forest of Dean, has kindly sent three or four dozen of young oak trees from the government plantations, to Washington, in order that they may be planted there and in some other places in the United States, to begin the century with. The state department of Agriculture has arranged for the planting of these oaks, and the periodical record of their measurements, so that a valuable basis will be established for an experiment that may be carried on for a century, or more; and we, the archæologists of the nineteenth century, shall have wiped away the stigma implied in the old Aberdeen baillie's remark, that as *Posteerity* had never done anything for us, we ought not to do anything for *posteerity!*

The Earl of Ducie has sent, accompanying these Forest of Dean oaks, four small plants, seedlings from the great Chestnut Tree on his Estate at Tortworth; the largest and oldest of its sort in Great Britain. It measures forty-nine feet round the trunk.

Leaving the Speech House for Coleford and Newland we descend a steep hill for half a mile, and crossing the rail at the Station we begin to ascend the opposite rise through the woods. As the carriage climbs slowly up we keep on the lookout for the margin-stones of the Roman paving which here and there show through the modern metaled surface—pieces fifteen to twenty inches long by about five inches in thickness, and set so deep in the ground that eighteen hundred years' wear has never moved them. They are buttressed on the outer edge by similar blocks set four or five inches lower, and themselves forming one side of the solidly paved water-way or gutter which was constructed as part of every such road on a steep gradient, to secure it from abrasion by flood or sudden rush from heavy rainfall. There are many excellent examples of this in the Forest of Dean. We are on the watch, however, for some part where the "*margines*" remain on *both* sides of the way. At last we come upon such a place, and alighting from the carriage we strain the tape measure across at two or three points. The mean we find to be thirteen feet and seven inches. As the Roman foot was just over three per cent. less than ours, this means that the Romans built the road here for a fourteen-foot way. So far as I have examined their roads they were always constructed to certain standard widths—seven feet, nine feet, eleven feet, thirteen feet, fourteen feet, or fifteen feet.

It is not too much to say that most of the main roads in England are Roman; but the very continuity of their use has caused this to be overlooked. All the *old* roads in the Forest of Dean have been pronounced by the Ordnance Surveyors, after close examination, to bear evidences of

Roman paving, although for some centuries since then wheel carriages went out of use here !

There is a vivid description in Statius of the making of an imperial-road through such another Forest (if not indeed this very one !) especially worth recalling here, because it was written at very nearly the period of the building of this track over which we are journeying ; *i. e.*, near the end of the first century.

The poet stands on a hill from which he can see the effect of the united work of the army of men who are engaged in the construction : perhaps a hundred thousand forced laborers, under the control of the legionary soldiers who act as the engineers. He makes us see and hear with him the tens of thousands of stone cutters and the ring of their tools squaring the "setts" ; and then one platoon after another stepping forward and laying down its row of stones followed by rank after rank of men with the paviours' rammers, which rise and fall at the sweep of the band-master's rods, keeping time in a stately music as they advance ; the continuous falling and crashing of the trees as other thousands of hands ply the axes along the lines, that creep, slowly, but visibly, on through the Forest that no foot had ever trodden—the thud of the multitudinous machines driving the piles in the marshy spaces ; the whole innumerable sounds falling on the ear like the roaring of a great and vast sea.

The language Statius uses is more simple than mine ; but this is substantially the picture he gives : and I know of nothing that so impresses on the imagination the thunder of the power of the Roman Empire as this creation in the wilderness, in one day, of an iron way that shall last for all time.

We are here in the sweet silence of a summer morning, eighteen hundred years after such a scene, and able mentally to catch some glimpse of it ; some echo of the storm that has left behind it so ineffaceable a mark.

"I intended to ask you just now whether the man you spoke to in the road was a typical native of the district?" said Senator Hoar. "He was dark and swarthy, with very black hair and piercing eyes; not at all like the majority of people we see in Gloucester for instance." "Yes, he is a typical Forester"; exactly such a man as Tacitus describes his Silurian ancestors; so Spanish in appearance that he tries to account for it by remarking that "*that part of Britain lies over against Spain*"; as if it was such a short run across the Bay of Biscay to the upper end of the Bristol Channel that nothing would be more natural than for Spaniards to sail over here with their wives and families and become Silures!

These Western Britons, both here in the Forest and in Cornwall certainly remind one of Spaniards. The type is of an older Celtic than that of the present Welsh people proper, as some evidences in the language also point to the occupation being an older one. With respect to this particular district of the Forest and the East of Monmouthshire, one more element must not be left out of the account: and that is, that Caerleon was founded by the second legion being removed to it from Gloucester about the time this road was made; and that it remained for three hundred years the headquarters of that legion, which was a Spanish one raised in the time of Augustus. Forty years ago I remember being at Caerleon (two and one half miles from Newport), when I met the children of the village coming out of school. It was hard to believe they were not Spanish or Italian!

At all events this part of Britain lies over against Boston; and Americans can cross over and see Caerleon for themselves more easily than the people could, of whom Tacitus wrote.

VOL. XIII.

NEW SERIES.

PART 3.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society,

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON,

APRIL 25, 1900.



WORCESTER, MASS., U. S. A.
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1900.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
PROCEEDINGS AT THE SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING	293
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>Samuel Sweett Green</i>	296
THE CRAIGIE HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE. <i>Samuel Sweett Green</i>	312
REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN	353
<i>Givers and Gifts</i>	370
A PHILANTHROPIST OF THE LAST CENTURY IDENTIFIED AS A BOSTON MAN. <i>Alexander Graham Bell</i>	383
WILLIAM PAINE. <i>George E. Francis</i>	394
SOME FACTS ABOUT JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT. <i>George Par-</i> <i>ker Winship</i>	409
SOME NOTES ON ISAIAH THOMAS AND HIS WORCESTER IMPRINTS. <i>Charles L. Nichols</i>	429
THE MASCOUTINS. <i>Lucien Carr</i>	448
ANDROS RECORDS. <i>Robert Noxon Toppan</i>	463
ANDROS'S PROCLAMATION MONEY. <i>Andrew McFarland Davis</i> . . .	500

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 25, 1900, IN ELLIS HALL, IN
THE NEW BUILDING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL
SOCIETY ON BOYLSTON STREET, BOSTON.

THE meeting was called to order by President SALISBURY
at 10.30 o'clock.

The following members were present :

George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury,
Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Edward L. Davis,
James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Charles C. Smith,
Edmund M. Barton, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green,
Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis, Henry S. Nourse,
William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton,
Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, George E. Francis,
Lucien Carr, Frank P. Goulding, James P. Baxter, G.
Stanley Hall, William E. Foster, J. Franklin Jameson,
Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Henry A. Marsh,
John E. Hudson, Thomas C. Mendenhall, William T.
Forbes, Edwin A. Grosvenor, Leonard P. Kinnicutt,
George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln,
John Noble, George P. Winship, A. Graham Bell, Austin
S. Garver, A. Lawrence Rotch.

Upon motion of Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE, the reading of
the records of the previous meeting was omitted.

The report of the Council was read by Mr. SAMUEL S.
GREEN, after which the Society listened to a paper by Mr.
GREEN on "The Craigie House, Cambridge, during its
occupancy by Andrew Craigie and his Widow."

The report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The report of the Council was accepted, and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Vice-President HOAR recited a humorous poem by his classmate Daniel S. Curtis, describing an imaginary visit of General Washington to the Craigie House.

The Recording Secretary, in behalf of the Council, presented the names of Samuel Utley, of Worcester, and Francis Blake, of Weston, as candidates for resident membership. They were duly elected on separate ballots.

Dr. ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL, of Washington, read a paper, entitled, "A Philanthropist of the Last Century Identified as a Boston Man."

A paper upon "The Life of Dr. William Paine" was read by GEORGE E. FRANCIS, M.D., of Worcester.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, of Providence, presented a paper on "George and Sebastian Cabot."

A paper on "Isaiah Thomas, Printer, Massachusetts," was presented by CHARLES L. NICHOLS, M.D., of Worcester.

Owing to lack of time, the following papers which had been prepared were not read, but were referred to the Committee of Publication :—

A paper by Prof. LUCIEN CARR, of Cambridge, on "The Mascoutins"; "The Andros Records," by ROBERT N. TOPPAN, of Cambridge; and "The Value of the New England Shilling," by ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, of Cambridge.

On motion of Vice-President Hoar, it was voted that the thanks of the Society be presented to the gentlemen who had contributed these very interesting papers, and

that they be referred to the Committee of Publication. Mr. HOAR said, "I think no person who is accustomed to take part in these proceedings will consider it improper to express our special pleasure in the contributions which have been made to the Society by the gentlemen who have taken part here today for the first time, and especially to express the great delight that we all feel at the presence of the illustrious inventor and man of science who has given mankind a greater gift than any other man of his generation, one of the great inventions, not only of this age, but of all ages,—the telephone."

The President reported that he had received from Dr. Charles L. Nichols as a gift to the Society a beautiful copy of his "Bibliography of Worcester."

Dissolved.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

The
M. B.

The
to the

THE COUNCIL.

Vi
class

of the Society during the last

This has been done quietly,

pres

For the first time in the build-

ing Society. An invitation

was here was extended to us

following letter:—

Massachusetts Historical Society,
Tremont Building,
Boston, 30 March, 1899.

Antiquarian Society.

Council of the Massachusetts

it was *Voted*, unanimously,

Antiquarian Society an invita-

meetings in the Ellis Hall

134 Boylston Street, corner of

communicate to you this action

very truly,

SAMUEL A. GREEN,

Librarian."

been gratefully accepted, with pro-

kindness and thoughtfulness

of the Historical Society. It

the meeting of the Antiquarian

hitherto, in the library of the

Arts and Sciences; so, today, for

availing ourselves of the graceful

and generous hospitality of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

It will be interesting to members of the Antiquarian Society to learn from the following letter of our revered associate, Reverend Doctor Edward Everett Hale, the progress which has been made respecting the publication of the Indian dictionaries given to us by the widow of our late distinguished associate, Honorable J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., Secretary for Foreign Correspondence of the Society from 1874 to the time of his death:—

" 39 Highland St.,
Roxbury, Mass., April 1, 1900.

Dear MR. SALISBURY :

Whoever is preparing the Council report may say that the accomplished scholars in the Ethnological Bureau have determined in consultation with our own Committee, to publish the Trumbull dictionaries in a separate volume precisely as he left them. We have agreed that any notes or additions shall be reserved for subsequent Bulletins.

The Ethnological Bureau proposes to make the Trumbull dictionaries the first of a new series of Bulletins devoted especially to the American Languages. A special appropriation for this purpose has been proposed in Congress and will, as we hope, be voted this winter. . . .

Always yours,

E. E. HALE."

The gifts to the Society during the last six months have been more in number than usual and of well-sustained value.

Only one of our members has died since the last meeting, Reverend Edward Griffin Porter. I shall prepare a sketch of Mr. Porter to be added to the report of the Council.

To complete the collection of notices of deceased members there will also be appended to the report sketches of Daniel G. Brinton, prepared by Thomas C. Mendenhall,

and Thomas F. Bayard by Robert Noxon Toppan. Mr. Toppan has also written a notice of William E. Gladstone, a foreign member, for this report.

Edward Griffin Porter was born in Boston, January 24, 1837. He was the son of Royal Loomis Porter (a graduate of Williams College in 1823), who was editor and proprietor of the *Boston Traveller*, a newspaper which he started in 1825, until his death. Edward Porter's mother was Sarah Ann Pratt, who was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1812, and is still living. Mr. Porter was descended from John Porter, who came in 1623 from the west of England to Plymouth, in the colony of that name.

While Porter was a child his father died, and his mother soon married Mr. Nathan Carruth, a Boston merchant. He always spoke warmly of the never-failing kindness of his stepfather.

Porter fitted for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, from which he graduated in 1854. In the fall of that year he entered Williams College, but soon after the beginning of the sophomore year joined the corresponding class in Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1858. In January, 1853, Porter united by public profession of faith with the Second Church in Dorchester.

Just before graduating from college he sailed for Europe, where he travelled, going for the first time to the East, and studied at Heidelberg and Berlin. He returned in July, 1861, and in September following entered the Andover Theological Seminary, from which he graduated in August, 1864. He had already been licensed to preach, by the Norfolk Association, at Braintree, the 26th January of that year. In the spring of 1864 he went West in the service of the United States Sanitary Commission. There he contracted a fever which seriously impaired his health.

After graduating at Andover, Porter remained at home

in Dorchester, taking charge of a church there during the absence of its pastor. In the following year he preached occasionally in various places; but did not feel strong enough to consider any proposals for settlement. He sailed again for Europe May 31, 1866. In Italy and Switzerland he studied with great interest the Waldensian movement to give Protestant churches and schools to all the principal towns, and was almost persuaded to accept the charge of the new Italian Church at Venice. He again visited the East, where he spent the spring of 1867. The work of the American Mission at Beirut and on the slopes of Mount Lebanon, engaged much of his attention.

He returned to this country in January, 1868, and in October of that year was ordained minister of the Hancock Congregational Church, a recently formed Trinitarian Society in Lexington, Massachusetts. He remained in that position for twenty-three years and was very successful in his ministry. Although not a remarkable preacher he was an admirable pastor and public-spirited citizen. He was universally respected and loved by his people and townsmen, and was an especial favorite with children. He became chairman of the School Committee in Lexington, and a trustee of its Public Library. He was also chairman of a committee on the order of exercises at the celebration, in 1875, of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Lexington. When he resigned his charge as pastor in 1891, his resignation was reluctantly accepted and he was made pastor emeritus of the church. He always retained his citizenship in Lexington.

In 1887-8 he made another journey to the East, on that occasion visiting the missionary stations of the American Board in Turkey, India, China and Japan. He had a strong and active interest in foreign missions and will be very much missed in missionary circles. He also had a lively interest in the East.

Mr. Porter's services were much in demand to serve

on committees, and they were cheerfully and efficiently rendered. He held a large number of offices. Thus he was a member of the Overseers' Committee to visit Harvard College, and of the Boards of Visitors of Wellesley College and Bradford Academy. He was a trustee of Abbot Academy, Andover; and of Lawrence Academy, Groton. He was a President of the Board of Trustees of the College at Aintab, in Asia Minor.

He represented Massachusetts in the historical department of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876 and was a delegate of this Society at the meeting of the Royal Society of Canada held in Halifax in the spring of 1897, the chief object of which was to set up a monument to John Cabot.

Mr. Porter's interest in American history was very great, and the study and presentation of portions of it occupied a considerable part of his activities. He was an accomplished guide, whose services were much availed of in pointing out places of historical interest in Lexington, Boston and its neighborhood, Plymouth and other localities. He always had investigations in hand. For two or three years before his death, the writer of this sketch remembers, he was actively engaged in looking up the path which in colonial times led from Boston, through Worcester and other towns, to Springfield.

In April, 1876, Mr. Porter was elected a member of this Society, and in 1880 a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He was also a member of the American Historical Association, of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and other historical organizations. On January 11, 1899, he was chosen President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. In 1887, Mr. Porter published an interesting book entitled "Rambles in Old Boston, New England." It is a book which is much in demand and has for some time been out of print. He also contributed to the Memorial History of Boston, edited by Justin Win-

sor, the chapter, "Beginning of the Revolution (1760-1775)," in the third volume. He published in 1875 an historical sketch of the Battle of Lexington, and edited the volume containing the Proceedings of the celebration, commemorative of the one hundredth anniversary of that battle.

He contributed to the Proceedings of this Society, among other things, an interesting paper on "The Aborigines of Australia." Among his occasional papers which have been printed are: Sermon on the death of the Reverend William Hooper Adams (Harvard, 1860); a brief memoir of John Charles Phillips, a chum in college, prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society; an original document of the house of Washington (thirteenth century); an address on the centennial of Washington's visit to Lexington; an address on Samuel Adams; four drawings of Lexington and Concord in 1775; President Garfield's ancestry; "The Ship Columbia and the Discovery of Oregon"; "The Cabot Celebrations of 1897"; and Sketches of the English towns of Dorchester, Ipswich, Billerica, and Bedford.

Mr. Porter died February 5, 1900, at the home of his mother, Ashmont, Dorchester. Two days after, on Wednesday, February 7, he was buried from the same place. A large assembly came together to do honor to his memory. Among those present were our associate, the venerable Doctor Cyrus Hamlin, and other clergymen, a numerous delegation from his society in Lexington, college classmates, and associates in historical and other societies.

Mr. Porter died in harness. Members of the Antiquarian Society will remember that he spoke at our last meeting in an interesting manner on the Tale of the Tantiusques, his remarks having been suggested by a recent gift to the Society from Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., of Boston. Only a few days before his death a cor-

rected proof of his remarks was received by our Committee of Publication. He had other engagements to write and speak. From boyhood Mr. Porter had been a student. His life passed smoothly. He was an industrious and useful man ; and, busy, loved and respected as he was, he will be much missed.

This sketch of Mr. Porter is, in the main, an abstract of a short memoir prepared by the writer for the Proceedings of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. s. s. g.

Dr. Daniel Garrison Brinton was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, on May 13th, 1837. He was graduated from Yale College in 1858 and from Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia in 1861. After receiving his degree in medicine he spent a year in Europe in study and travel. Returning in 1862 he entered the Army of the Union as an acting assistant surgeon. His abilities received quick recognition ; he was shortly commissioned surgeon, was Surgeon-in-Chief of the Second Division of the 11th Army Corps, and was made Medical Director of his corps in October, 1863, only a little more than a year after entering the service. He was present at several of the most important battles of the Civil War, and in consequence of a severe sunstroke, received shortly after the Battle of Gettysburg, he was disqualified from active field duties. As Superintendent of Hospitals at Quincy and Springfield, Illinois, he continued in the service until the close of the war in 1865, when he was discharged with the brevet rank of Lieut.-Colonel. He settled in Philadelphia, becoming the editor of the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, and also of a quarterly journal, the *Compendium of Medical Science*. He was also a constant contributor to other medical journals, especially on subjects relating to public medicine and hygiene, and he edited a number of important volumes on therapeutics and diagnosis. He was prominent

in medical controversy ; and in this, as in other subjects in which he was interested, his work possessed a characteristic aggressiveness which greatly enhanced its value.

It was, however, as an anthropologist that Dr. Brinton became distinctly eminent. Even before he had received his bachelor's degree he was attracted towards the study of anthropology and archæology, possibly through the accident of spending the winter of 1856-57 in Florida, where an excellent opportunity for work in these subjects was presented ; and in 1859 he published his first book on the "Literary History, Indian Tribes and Antiquities" of the peninsula. Shortly after the close of the Civil War his interest and enthusiasm for antiquarian research was revived ; and he began a series of studies and investigations which he maintained with great productiveness for more than thirty years, and until his death. He became Professor of Ethnology and Archæology in the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia in 1884, and in 1886 he was appointed Professor of American Linguistics and Archæology in the University of Pennsylvania. In 1886 he was Vice-President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and in 1894 he was elected to the presidency. He became a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1870. Dr. Brinton's contributions to science were many and important. He was a ready and versatile writer, and his researches covered a wide field. During a third of a century of activity he published numerous books, monographs, pamphlets and papers covering practically the whole range of American Archæology. Among the more important of these may be mentioned the "Library of Aboriginal American Literature," published in 1882-85 ; "Races and Peoples," 1890 ; and "The American Race," 1892. These are justly ranked among America's most important contributions to anthropology ; and to them should be added his latest, and by many considered his best contribution to the literature of

science, the "Religions of Primitive Peoples," published in 1897.

Dr. Brinton was gifted in popular exposition. His style was clear, vigorous and aggressive; his mind was free and unprejudiced in the reception of new ideas; he was courageous in the expression of his opinions and in defence of principles, but he was also singularly and unceasingly courteous in controversy and pleasing in personality. He died on July 31st, 1899, at Atlantic City, only a few weeks after he had presented to the University of Pennsylvania his magnificent library, a collection unequalled, perhaps unapproached, of rare and valuable books and papers relating to the work of his life. In making this splendid gift he also promised his own personal service in completing the catalogue and supervising the arrangement of the collection. This pledge was never to be fulfilled, but the University has determined to commemorate his work by the establishment of a special chair of American Archaeology which shall bear his name. T. C. M.

Thomas Francis Bayard, who was elected a member of this Society in April, 1897, was born in Wilmington, Delaware, on the 29th of October, 1828, and died at the residence of a married daughter in Dedham, Massachusetts, on the 28th of September, 1898. He belonged to a family, rare in the annals of any country, in which vigorous mental endowments and high moral qualities appear in successive generations. It is said that he was a descendant of Chevalier Bayard, famous in history for his knightly courtesy; and this tradition can be readily believed, judging from Mr. Bayard's high sense of duty, his moral courage, and his dignified yet pleasing manners.

Having been admitted to the bar in 1851, he was, two years afterwards, appointed district attorney. In 1855 he became a partner of Mr. William Shippen, a well known lawyer of Philadelphia, but returned to Wilmington after

a residence of nine years in Pennsylvania. He was chosen to the high position of a Senator of the United States from his native State for the term beginning in 1869, taking the place that had been honorably filled by his father and by his grandfather. Upon his entrance into political life he became almost immediately the recognized leader of the democratic minority, being considered a consistent, conscientious and trustworthy member of that political party. On the 7th of March, 1870, he made a vigorous speech on the Funding Bill, in which he denounced the quality of legal tender money given to promissory notes issued by the National Government. "I cannot," he said, "give my consent to an act of Congress that shall recognize and continue in force a system of irredeemable paper money, a currency not of value, but of credit only, as a basis of our public debt." He spoke in emphatic terms of the mischievous results of the issuing of the legal tender notes as the commencement of "the carnival of fraud and swindling." He always contended that the Constitution did not confer upon Congress the right to make or manufacture money. The right to borrow money is expressly given, as well as the right to coin metal, which has an intrinsic value and which has been bought or received in exchange for a valuable consideration. He did not deny the power of the Government to issue Treasury notes which should be redeemable, but the right to issue fiat money, even under an implied power, which might destroy the validity of all contracts, he repudiated. This subject he returned to and emphasized in several of his public addresses and speeches. He predicted that political and financial trouble would ensue from the continuance of the legal tender quality. "Some persons seem actually to believe that we can make any poor man rich by setting printing presses in motion, or stamping base money." His predictions have been amply justified. Firm in his convictions he approved heartily of Secretary McCulloch's plan of redeeming and

cancelling the legal tender notes ; but this policy, which was in conformity with all business precedents, was not carried out.

Keenly alive to all acts of injustice, he espoused warmly the cause of General Fitz-John Porter, who had been, as he thought, unjustly treated. In his speech in the Senate in 1880 upon the bill for the restoration of General Porter to the army, he denounced the arguments that had been uttered by some of his fellow members. "We have heard here in effect proclaimed that military courts and courts martial are in substance part of the judicial power of the United States, that they have equal dignity and that they are as wholly irreversible in their decisions as those of the judicial branch of the Government. I dissent *in toto* from such a proposition. I say on the contrary that military rule is obnoxious to the American people, and it is justly so to all people who would remain free." "Can it be that in a civilized country, gross, admitted, palpable injustice can never be remedied?" "There is a spirit of centralization ; there are centripetal forces at work that in my judgment the people of this country would be most wise to check."

He was ardent in his support of all reforms in the civil service of the country, and in his oration before the students of Dartmouth College in 1882, he quoted from the writings of Daniel Webster to show that the great New England orator was totally averse to the doctrine that the spoils of office should be claimed "by the right of party conquest." His most important address, perhaps, and the most praised, was that delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College in 1877, his subject being the "Unwritten Law" or "the great moral Law written as Coke said with the finger of God on the heart of Man." This was followed in 1883 by an able address on "the responsibilities of the legal profession in a Republic," delivered before the students of the Yale Law School.

While in the Senate he served on various committees, and on October 10th, 1881, was elected, for a few days, President *pro tempore* of that body at a special session called by President Arthur after the assassination of President Garfield. He had already served in 1877 as one of the Presidential Electoral Commission. So prominent had he become that he was considered by many as a probable candidate for the Presidency of the United States both in 1880 and 1884. Upon Cleveland's election he became Secretary of State for four years, acting with prudence and dignity in the fishery disputes between the United States and Canada, in the question of the Alaska boundary line and the Samoan troubles. At the expiration of his term of office he returned to Wilmington, but was again called into public life by President Cleveland who appointed him Ambassador to the Court of St. James in 1893, the first envoy from the United States bearing the title of Ambassador.

He was well received in England, as he strove to foster friendly relations between the two kindred nations. By some of his political opponents he was considered to express a too friendly regard for the English people; and taking umbrage at the remarks made by him in two addresses, particularly in that delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, in which he spoke "of the insatiable growth in my own country of a form of socialism styled protection, which has done more to corrupt public life, to banish men of independent mind from public councils, and to lower the tone of national representation than any other single cause," and "overthrowing the great principle of equality before the law by fostering special classes," it was proposed in the House of Representatives on the 10th of December, 1895, to impeach him for violating the rules of propriety that should govern American representatives in foreign countries. The proposal was, however, not carried out, there being no

foundation upon which to erect an accusation of high crimes and misdemeanors, required to sustain an impeachment.

Upon his return from England after the expiration of his term of office, he was made the custodian of the Bradford manuscript, the original history of Plymouth, which was presented, on May 26th, 1897, through him, to the State of Massachusetts from the Lord Bishop of London with much ceremonial, followed by a banquet given by the American Antiquarian Society on the same day, at which were present many distinguished men and interesting addresses were made. Mr. Bayard, who was received with great cordiality, spoke unreservedly of his constant efforts, while in England, to strengthen the ties binding the two countries together.

Mr. Bayard was the recipient of many literary honors, having received the degree of LL.D. from Harvard University in 1877, from Dartmouth College in 1882, from Yale University in 1883, from the University of Michigan in 1891, the degree of D.C.L. from Oxford in 1896, and LL.D. from Cambridge in 1897. He was also a member of the American Philosophical Society. R. N. T.

William Ewart Gladstone.—Having had the good fortune once, in London, to listen to an address delivered by Mr. Gladstone, I could easily understand how people were influenced and moved by his persuasive and musical voice, and by his earnest manner. The occasion was a notable one and particularly interesting to Mr. Gladstone, as a student of ecclesiastical history, for Père Hyacinthe, who had renounced the Papal authority, and who, it was then hoped, would be the founder of an independent Gallican Church, was the recipient of an ovation from a numerous and cultivated audience, and spoke after Mr. Gladstone had finished his address. Mr. Gladstone's voice reminded me of that of Mr. George William Curtis,

but was pitched upon a slightly higher key. His personal appearance, probably by being overpraised, was somewhat disappointing. Apparently in physical and intellectual strength he was inferior to Mr. Charles Sumner.

Mr. Gladstone's career is so well known that it will only be necessary to touch upon its most prominent features. Born in Liverpool, of Scotch ancestry, on the 29th of December, 1809, William Ewart Gladstone had the happy fortune not only to be surrounded by tender family affections, but also to be freed from any thought of self-maintenance, his father, a wealthy merchant, who had been created a Baronet, being very indulgent to all the members of his family. From Eton he went to Oxford, where he obtained high university honors, and became also well known as a debater—so well known that through the influence of the Duke of Newcastle he entered Parliament in 1833, when only twenty-four years old, and as a staunch Tory he took his place in the conservative ranks. His change from high tory principles to liberalism, due to conviction, as he has himself asserted in the published defence of his conduct, led to many charges being made against him for inconsistency. His political enemies were often virulent in their denunciations, even threatening him with personal violence. Upon one occasion he had to fly for refuge to his own house, the windows of which were shattered by an angry mob. His inconsistencies have been painted in vivid colors by tory writers: his defence at one time of slavery as sanctioned by the Bible, and then preaching the gospel of liberty and freedom; upholding the principles of hereditary monarchy, and yet denouncing the monarchical governments of Naples and Turkey for their misdeeds and cruelty, and sympathizing with the revolutionary efforts to form a united Italy; a strenuous maintainer of authority, and yet attacking the Papacy; a believer in the divinely appointed hierarchy of the Anglican Church, and yet a friend and champion of the dissenters,

his mediation even being invoked by the Rev. Mr. Momerie, a clergyman of the Established Church, who lost his position of Professor of Logic in King's College, London, on account of his heretical religious opinions; at one time espousing the cause of the Southern Confederacy and then expressing his regrets that he had done so, and stating in his "Kin beyond Sea" that "The type and form of manhood for America was supplied neither by the Recusant in Maryland, nor by the Cavalier in Virginia, but by the Puritan in New England"; his early opposition to Parliamentary reform, and then his advocacy of the extension of suffrage; his expressed love of peace, and yet a member of the cabinet, that waged the Crimean War, and, in subsequent years, ordered the bombardment of Alexandria; willing to cede the Ionian Islands to Greece in order to increase the power of that kingdom and yet opposing the retention by England of the Transvaal, the acquisition of Cyprus and the expanding colonial policy of Disraeli.

The disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland, of which he was the principal promoter, it was feared, would lead to the separation of Church and State in England, especially as he had urged, quoting the example of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, that the laity in each diocese should be recognized legally as part of the governing power in ecclesiastical affairs jointly with the bishops and clergy, but this reform has not yet been accomplished, although it will probably be attained in time. Notwithstanding the attacks directed against him, Mr. Gladstone will always be honored as a leader of the liberal party, as a denouncer of wrongs, as a highly gifted orator and as a distinguished scholar, not only of the classics, but also of French and Italian, being able when in the Ionian Islands as Lord High Commissioner to address the public in the musical language of Dante.

It is unnecessary to enumerate the high political and literary honors bestowed upon him during his long career. The Queen, it is said, offered an earldom, which was declined. His marriage with Miss Catherine Glynne, daughter of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, in 1839, was a most happy one. Mr. Gladstone was elected to membership of this Society in October, 1887. Having attained an advanced and dignified age, he died at Hawarden Castle on the 19th of May, 1898. The day after his decease the Marquis of Salisbury, a political opponent, said publicly that Mr. Gladstone "was ever guided in all his efforts by a lofty moral idea."

R. N. T.

For the Council.

SAMUEL S. GREEN.

THE CRAIGIE HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE,

DURING ITS OCCUPANCY BY ANDREW CRAIGIE AND HIS WIDOW.

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

[Full titles of books referred to in the Notes will be found in a list at the end of the paper.]

SAMUEL FOSTER HAVEN, for so many years our accomplished librarian, gave to this Society several packages of papers which are known in our library as the Craigie manuscripts. They consist mainly of business letters from the correspondents of Andrew Craigie, the buyer and occupant of the house in Cambridge which bears his name.

Mr. Haven's mother was the daughter of Andrew Craigie's sister, Mrs. Bossenger Foster. Her children were heirs of Mr. Craigie and the papers which Mr. Haven gave to this Society naturally fell into the hands of his father, the late Judge Samuel Haven of Dedham, and afterwards came into his possession. It appeared probable that an examination of the Craigie manuscripts might bring to light some interesting facts in regard to the famous house owned by Mr. Craigie. I have gone through them to see what could be found.

While it has been pleasant to look over the letters and accounts, very little material has been secured on the subject in which I had an especial present interest. I shall give in this paper most of the items found, and add anecdotes gleaned from the literary productions of well-known authors who have written about the Craigie House, confining myself, however, mainly to such remarks as relate to the history of the house while occupied by Mr. Craigie and his family.

When Andrew Craigie bought the estate on which the Craigie House stands, it comprised between one and two hundred acres, probably more than one hundred and fifty acres,¹ and included the celebrated Batchelder House² on Brattle Street, nearly opposite Mason Street. The latter house was the first residence in Cambridge of the elder Colonel John Vassall, the first of the family of that name to live in Cambridge.

He bought the house from Mercy, widow of John Frizzle, Jr., July 26, 1736.³ Our late associate, Mr. George Dexter, and others, have thought that Mr. Vassall built the house.⁴ That is a mistake. There is no evidence, even, that it was built by the Frizzles. It appears that they left the old house standing, but much enlarged, altered and modernized it. In fact, this house seems to be one of the most ancient, if not the oldest house existing in Cambridge.⁵

Colonel Vassall sold the Batchelder house in 1741 to his younger brother, Major Henry Vassall.⁶ The latter died there in 1769, but his widow continued to occupy the house until the Revolution. The house had an interesting history during the Revolution. It was not confiscated,⁷ however, and after passing through other hands came into the possession of Andrew Craigie in 1792.⁸

The house now becomes of especial interest to us, for soon after its purchase by Mr. Craigie, the grandfather of Mr. Samuel F. Haven, Mr. Bossenger Foster, moved from Boston and lived there with his family.⁹

Mr. Foster was a merchant in Boston, a patriot during our war for independence, and, it will be remembered, a brother-in-law of Mr. Craigie.¹⁰ After the latter's death,

¹ S. Longfellow in *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, v. 1., p. 259; Curtis in *Homes*, p. 177; Drake, p. 291.

² Mrs. Isabella James in "Cambridge of 1776," p. 101.

³ Isabella James, p. 97.

⁴ *Harvard Book*, v. 2, p. 427; I. James, p. 98.

⁵ I. James, p. 93. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 99. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 100. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101. ⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ N. Paine, "Sketch," p. 39.

in 1819 or 1821, "on the division of his estate that was not subject to dower lot No. 1, the seven acres of Major Henry Vassall, and his house, fell to Elizabeth Foster," Mr. Haven's mother, "then the wife," as intimated before, "of Judge Samuel Haven¹ of whom" Samuel Batchelder "purchased it in 1841."²

The first Colonel John Vassall, several years after he sold the Batchelder house and grounds to his brother, bought the land on which the Craigie House stands,³ and his son, the second Colonel John Vassall, built the house. "A strong belief prevails in Cambridge," writes Mrs. Isabella James, "that a subterranean passage connects" the Batchelder House with the Craigie House,⁴ "and that it was constructed to enable the two Vassall families to visit each other without exposure to the outside world." Mrs. James, after having made a progress, with other explorers, through the cellars of the two houses in search of enlightenment, discredits the belief.

All visitors to Cambridge are familiar with the Craigie House. Painted in yellow and white, and built in the style of an English country house of a hundred and fifty years ago, it stands in quiet dignity and respectability far back from Brattle Street, on the right as one goes from Harvard Square to Mount Auburn. This house has, perhaps, more historic interest than any other house in New England; and with the exception of Mount Vernon is very likely the best known residence in our country.

The poet Longfellow, who lived there so many years in recent times, playfully claims great antiquity for the house. In writing to his friend George W. Greene, he says: "If you have forgotten it, you will be pleased to be reminded that Horace mentions the Craigie House in Ode XXI. of the First Book. He speaks of it as the Viridis Cragi in which Diana takes delight,—that is, on which the

¹ Married May 6, 1799.

² I. James, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

moonlight lingers."¹ The common opinion, however, is that the mansion was erected in 1759 by, as stated before, the second Colonel John Vassall. George William Curtis supposes it to have been built earlier and by the first bearer of that name and title. He writes: "This Colonel John Vassall," meaning the one who died in 1747, "is supposed to have built the house towards the close of the first half of the last century. Upon an iron in the back of one of the chimneys, there is the date 1759—which probably commemorates no more than the fact of its own insertion at that period, inasmuch as the builder of the house would hardly commit the authentic witness of its erection to the mercies of smoke and soot. History capitulates before the exact date of the building of the Craigie House as completely as before that of the foundation of Thebes. But the house was evidently generously built."²

Drake's mind, or that of his editor, seems to have been in a state of confusion. He writes: "The house was probably erected in 1759 by Colonel John Vassall, the same at whose tomb we have paid a passing visit."³ The tomb referred to, as evidently appears from the connection, is that of the first Colonel Vassall, who died in 1747, and consequently could not have built a house in 1759. Drake mixes up the two colonels in other ways in the paragraphs in which he speaks of the Vassalls.

Reverend Samuel Longfellow is right when he says that "the accepted date is 1759,"⁴ and Mr. George Dexter is probably correct when he states that the house was built by the John Vassall who graduated from Harvard College in 1757.⁵ In corroboration of the statements of Longfellow and Dexter, our late associate, Mr. Justin Winsor,

¹ S. Longfellow's *Final Memorials of H. W. Longfellow*, p. 193.

² Curtis, pp. 273, 274.

³ Drake, p. 292.

⁴ S. Longfellow's *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, v. 1., p. 259.

⁵ *Harvard Book*, vol. 2, p. 427.

Vassall farm, which furnished considerable supplies of
 "forage for our army."¹

"The mansion house," writes Mr. Dexter, "was occupied
 by Colonel John Glover's Marblehead regiment, when
 Cambridge became a camp. The house was assigned to
 the use of the Committee of Safety in the Spring of 1775,
 and on the 26th of May it was ordered to be cleared of the
 'souldiers now lodged there.' There is no evidence, how-
 ever, that the committee ever occupied the house. It was
 certainly not thoroughly cleansed, for Washington himself
 paid in July for cleaning it."² * * * After a short stay
 in the President's (also called the Wadsworth) house, the
 Vassall house was prepared for him. It remained the
 headquarters of the army for eight or nine months.

"Mrs. Washington came to Cambridge in December,
 and many other ladies of the families of the Continental
 officers joined the camp."³

"If tradition is trustworthy," writes Samuel Longfellow,
 the drawing-room "remembers the gayety of a Twelfth-
 night party given by" Mrs. Washington.⁴ Miss Alice
 M. Longfellow is quoted as saying that Washington, while
 occupying the Craigie House, very seldom "allowed any
 merriment at headquarters, or took any part in revelry
 himself. * * * * Mrs. Washington," she adds,
 "came to visit her husband during his residence in" Cam-
 bridge. "She arrived in great ceremony with a coach and
 four black horses, with postillions and servants in scarlet
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 their wedding anniversary, though the general had to be
 much persuaded by his aides."⁵

The southeastern room, afterwards Longfellow's study,
 was used as an office by Washington, and "according to
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¹ Drake, p. 294.

² Harvard Book, v. 2, p. 428.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

⁴ S. Longfellow's Life of H. W. Longfellow, v. 1, p. 260.

⁵ *The Cambridge Tribune*, April 21, 1900, p. 4, "The Craigie House."

writes: "It is thought that the house was erected by Colonel John Vassall in 1759."¹

The Vassalls were an important family in Old England early connected with the settlement of New England. In the early part of the eighteenth century a John Vassall had emigrated to the West Indies, where the family owned large estates from which they derived great wealth. The social position of the family, which can be easily shown in other ways, was indicated by the positions of the names of the three sons of Leonard Vassall—Lewis, John and William—who graduated respectively in 1728, 1732 and 1733, in the Triennial Catalogue of Harvard College.² The Vassalls also owned several fine estates in Boston and its vicinity. Members of the family resided in Cambridge less than forty years, but the impression they made upon the age yet survives.³

The Vassall (or Craigie) House was in Tory row. The proprietors of the estates on which these houses stood "were aristocratic in their habit and manner of living and were nearly all Churchmen. * * * Most of them were forced to leave the country when the Revolution approached. John Vassall was among the most prominent and bitter of the dwellers in Tory row against the Whigs." "He is said to have carried his loyalty to the King so far as to refuse to use the family motto: 'Sæpe pro rege, semper pro republica.'"⁴

Curtis says that after Vassall withdrew from Cambridge and from his country, the estate was purchased by the provincial government.⁵ This was not the case. It was taken possession of by the government, however, and at a later period confiscated.

Drake learns "from the records of the Provincial Congress * * * that Joseph Smith was the custodian of the

¹ Winsor's Mem. Hist. of Boston, v. 3, p. 113.

² Harv. Book, v. 2, p. 427.

³ I. James, pp. 98, 99.

⁴ Harvard Book, v. 2, p. 428.

⁵ Curtis, in Homes, p. 274.

Vassall farm, which furnished considerable supplies of forage for our army." ¹

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¹ Drake, p. 294.

² Harvard Book, v. 2, p. 428.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

⁴ S. Longfellow's Life of H. W. Longfellow, v. 1, p. 260.

⁵ *The Cambridge Tribune*, April 21, 1900, p. 4, "The Craigie House."

room."¹ The northeastern room was occupied by the General's "family" or aides. The chamber over the office was "Washington's private room.

' Yes, within this very room,
Sat he in those hours of gloom,
Weary both in heart and head,'—

wrote the poet when he had made that chamber his (first) study. Yet, serious as were those days and often weary with the weight of cares, we are glad to know that they were not without their enlivenment. Among the traditions of the house are two stories of 'Washington's laughter.'"²

General Washington left Cambridge in April, 1776.³

"We have not been able," writes Mr. Dexter, "to discover what use, if any, was made of the mansion during the years immediately after his departure."⁴

Several years after Washington removed from the Vassall house it was confiscated. It "was sold by the Commonwealth for £4264 and passed into the possession of Nathaniel Tracy of Newburyport, 28th June, 1781."⁵ In that seaport he and his brother "had carried on, under the firm name of Tracy, Jackson and Tracy, an immense business in privateering. Martin Brimmer was their agent in Boston."⁶ "The first privateer fitted out in the United States," it is stated, "sailed from" Newburyport, "and was owned by Nathaniel Tracy, Esq."⁷

The numerous armed vessels owned wholly or principally by Mr. Tracy took vessels which "with their cargoes," writes Mrs. E. Vale Smith, in her History of Newburyport, "sold for *three million, nine hundred and fifty thousand specie dollars* (one hundred and sixty-seven thousand two hundred and nineteen dollars. Mr. Tracy

¹ S. Longfellow's Life of H. W. Longfellow, v. 1, p. 260.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 261.

³ Harvard Book, v. 2, p. 628.

⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Drake, p. 306.

⁷ E. Vale Smith, Hist., p. 106.

devoted to the army and other public demands) ; and with these prizes were taken 2,225 men prisoners of war.”¹

Mr. Tracy enlarged the Vassall estate, “notably by the purchase of Henry Vassall’s, on the opposite side of” the Watertown road, that is to say on Brattle street. “He is said to have built a summer-house on the summit of the hill where the observatory now stands.”²

Of Mr. Tracy’s “wealth and luxury there are fabulous tales.”³

“The Marquis of Chastellux visited Newburyport in 1782,” before Mr. Tracy occupied the Vassall house, and with his party “was entertained by” him. He lived there “in great style.”⁴

“Mr. Tracy also exercised large hospitality in his house at Cambridge.”⁵

“He carried himself” there, says Mr. Curtis, “with a rare lavishness.”⁶

In 1789 we find him again an entertainer in Newburyport. There “he received Washington, then on his triumphal tour ; and in 1824 Lafayette, following in the footsteps of his illustrious commander, slept in the same apartment he had occupied.”⁷

“In 1786, the” Vassall “estate was sold to Thomas Russell, a rich merchant of Boston, afterwards the first President of the United States Branch Bank. He resided in Boston and, we presume, used the Vassall house as a summer seat.”⁸

This merchant prince was “accredited by the vulgar with having once eaten for his breakfast a sandwich made of a hundred dollar note and two slices of bread.”⁹

¹ E. Vale Smith, Hist., p. 107.

² Harvard Book, v. 2, p. 430.

³ S. Longfellow's Life of H. W. L., v. 1, pp. 260, 261.

⁴ Harvard Book, v. 2, p. 430.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Curtis, in Homes, p. 276.

⁷ Drake, p. 309.

⁸ Harvard Book, v. 2, p. 430.

⁹ Drake, p. 309.

Thomas Russell, writes Mr. George Dexter, sold the Vassall house, "1st January, 1792, to Andrew Craigie, from whom the mansion gets the title, Craigie House, by which it has since been known. * * * For the whole estate, about one hundred and fifty acres, including the Henry Vassall house, he is said to have paid £3,700 lawful money."¹

Our late associate, Dr. Lucius R. Paige, gives the same date for the transfer of the house.²

Drake states that the sale of the estate occurred in March, 1791³.

Justin Winsor writes that the house became the property of Dr. Andrew Craigie in 1791.⁴

Samuel Longfellow, in the life of his brother, the poet, says that Mr. Craigie purchased the house and grounds on the first of January, 1793.⁵

A few extracts from the Craigie papers will throw some light upon the date.

Under date of June 30, 1791, Bossenger Foster writes from Boston to Andrew Craigie in New York :—

"My Dr. Bro^r., * * * Mr. Lowell has not yet rec^d an answer from Mr. Lane respecting the Vassall house. I told him a day or two since the £500 stlg was ready for him."

July 17, 1791, Mr. Foster writes to Mr. Craigie :—

"* * * Mr. Lowell yesterday shew me a Ltr from Mr. Lane; he says, 'have applied repeatedly to Mr. ——— respecting the Vassall house, but to no purpose. So there remains no impediment to that part of Mr. C's purchase—So I shall say nothing further to Mr. Codman on the subject, nor to Mr. Lowell—have paid him the £500 stlg., but was obliged to go to Roxbury to do it, having offered it to him again and again in Boston—to no purpose.'"

October 18, in a letter written from Boston to Mr. Craigie, apparently by Mr. Foster :—

"Have begun to wash and paint—hope tomorrow to be able to

¹ Harvard Book, v. 2, pp. 430, 431.

² Paige, Hist., p. 183. Note.

³ Drake, p. 310.

⁴ Memorial Hist. of Boston, vol. 3, p. 113.

⁵ S. Longfellow's Life of H. W. L., v. 1., pp. 261, 262.

be there, & that what may be done will please you on your return."

Oct. 24, Mr. Craigie writes to Mr. Foster from Philadelphia:—

"My Dear Brother, * * * I shall be pleased on my return to find the House at Cambridge painted &c."

November 30, Mr. Foster writes to Mr. Craigie:—

"* * * Sarah Gooch at Cambridge—the house sweetening inside."

It will appear later that things needed in housekeeping were stored at the house in Cambridge in the latter part of the year 1791. Indeed, we find in a letter of Aaron Dexter, Boston, to Andrew Craigie, dated *May 4, 1791*, the following passage:—

"* * * I was last week at Cambridge. Your Paradise looks delightfully."

It would appear from the passages quoted from the Craigie manuscripts that July 17, 1791, it was practically settled that Mr. Craigie was to have the Vassall house, and that arrangements were so far completed that his brother-in-law, in the later months of the year made preparations for the occupancy of the house by the new owner. It would appear also that Mr. Craigie had had his eye upon the house at an earlier date than June 30. Perhaps he had it in mind to buy the estate as early as May 4, 1791, or at an earlier date. The date of purchase given by Drake seems to be too early; that of Mr. Longfellow too late. Very likely the date given by Paige and Dexter is correct, namely, January 1, 1792, although the possession of the house was evidently practically assured to Mr. Craigie soon after the middle of 1791.

At that time, too, Mr. Craigie visited Boston. June 28, 1791, he had written to Mr. Foster from New York:—

"* * * I am really very anxious to return, and shall certainly be on my way home by the middle of July."

July 21. Messrs. Horace and Seth Johnson, New York agents for Mr. Craigie, write to Mr. Foster :—

“Mr. Craigie will leave Town tomorrow for Boston either by land or by way of Providence.”

They write again, July 24, to Mr. Foster :—

“ * * * Mr. Craigie left town yesterday for Boston by way of Providence.”

Mr. Craigie had been urged to come to Boston owing to the serious illness of “Mama” Craigie. Very likely, also, he was glad to be there at the time when the negotiations were closing for the purchase of the Vassall estate.

Early in 1792 he shows eagerness to be in Cambridge.

January 16, he writes to Mr. Foster from Philadelphia :

“ * * * I am determined in future to employ agents and not make the sacrifice I must do by being absent from my friends and from Cambridge.”

January 29, Mr. Foster writes :—

“ * * * we are all pretty well & hope to see you by the middle of Feb^y—we have had the severest winter I ever knew; the frost has ravaged our Cellars both here and at Cambridge, notwithstanding keeping a fire in both.”

Mr. Foster to Mr. Craigie :—

“ * * * Expect you daily * * * hope * * * that nothing will hinder your being in Cambridge before this has time to reach you.”

It has been generally stated that Andrew Craigie was Apothecary-General of the Continental Army. He was certainly Apothecary-General of the Northern Department of the Revolutionary Army, September 5, 1777, when the Council of Massachusetts granted him supplies for the General Hospital.¹ He was at the Battle of Bunker Hill,

“and assisted in the care of the wounded there. He was at Cambridge during the siege of Boston * * * He was with the Northern Army, under General Gates, in 1777 and 1778, and was the confidant of Wilkinson, Gates’s adjutant-general, in his correspondence with Lord Sterling, growing out of the Conway imbroglio.”²

¹ Paige, p. 183. Note.

² Drake, p. 310.

In his service in the army Mr. Craigie is said to have acquired a large fortune. Josiah Quincy, son of President Quincy, says that "he had made a large fortune by buying up government promises, and by other speculations during the Revolution."¹

There is a long and continuous series of letters in the Craigie papers which show that Mr. Craigie dealt constantly in government securities about the time he went to Cambridge to live and after he had removed to that place. He was a member of the Ohio Company and, as will appear later, was largely engaged in speculations in lands at Lechmere Point, now East Cambridge. He was also a director and large proprietor in the company which built Canal (usually known as Craigie's or Craigie) bridge, between Boston and East Cambridge.

Mr. Craigie is said to have made important additions to the Vassall house. "It is believed," writes Mr. Samuel Longfellow, that he "built the western wing of the house, with its kitchen and dependences; and being a giver of dinners, enlarged the square northeastern room to its present spacious dimensions, and adorned it with columns, to serve as a grand dining-room."²

"Cambridge was celebrated for her gardens and the ornamental culture of her grounds even before the beginning of the present century. Andrew Craigie * * * laid out the grounds around his house in the taste of" the "period. On the western side of" the "mansion, the tall hedges and clumps of lilacs are all that remain of this early garden. Mr. Craigie had a greenhouse on the grounds, where the dormitory of the Episcopal Seminary now stands. This structure was burned about 1840."³

Mr. Craigie relied on his Philadelphia correspondents to procure a gardener for him. Nalbro' and Jn^o Frazier write to Andrew Craigie, New York, June 14, '92: "Have not yet seen the Gardner."

Aug. 28 they write to Mr. Craigie, Boston: "* * The

¹ *Figures of the Past*, p. 25.

² *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, v. 1, p. 262.

³ *Winsor's Memorial Hist.*, v. 4, p. 627.

Gardner has not yet called to execute the agreement, as soon as he does we will inform you."

Sept. 27, the correspondents write:—

"We have omitted mentioning to you that the Gardner will probably be with you in about 8 or 10 days from this time, enclosed we send the agreement made with him by us on your behalf. We could not get him to come on earlier, and he will now be in time to make the arrangements which may be necessary for the ensuing Spring."

Late in 1791 there is a letter regarding an ice-house. Bossenger Foster writes Dec. 18 to Andrew Craigie, New York:—

" * * * I shall not make a new Ice house, but as soon as can get the boards up to Cam: shall repair the old one, which is in fact build^d a new house on the old Cellar—it will hold a good many Tons, and if proves right will be all sufficient for this year—believe I have wrote you of my recv^d everything you have sent from Phila."

Mr. Craigie, says the late Marshall P. Wilder, quoting another writer, "had an ice-house, an almost unknown luxury in those days.

Some people thought a judgment would befall one who would thus attempt to thwart the designs of Providence by raising flowers under glass in winter, and keeping ice under ground to cool the heat of summer; which now seem to have been the forerunners of two great institutions in Cambridge—ice in summer and flowers in winter."¹

Mr. Craigie wished his correspondents in Philadelphia, the Messrs. Frazier, to get him a plan for a malthouse. This reminds us that Harvard College had a Brewhouse. Mr. Samuel A. Eliot gives in an "Explanation of Plan of the College Enclosure":—

"6, is what was called the Brew House in the early part of the last century. It was afterwards included in the College Wood Yard."²

Our late associate, Thomas C. Amory, writes:—

"Behind Harvard and Stoughton"—old Stoughton—"was the brewery; beer in those benighted days, when tea and coffee were not known, certainly at Cambridge, being regarded as a wholesome beverage."³

¹ Winsor's Memorial Hist., v. 4, pp. 627, 628.

² Sketch of the Hist. of Harvard College, p. 190. ³ Old Cambridge and New, p. 12.

Mr. Craigie had bought a house ; he must furnish it. Much correspondence took place.

July 26/91, Nalbro' Frazier writes to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

“ * * * Inclos'd you will find a Bill of the China, the amount of which my Brother will thank you to send on as soon as convenient, it will be ship'd on board the Brig^t Maria, Capt. Hopkins, who will leave this on Thursday next, 28th instant.”

Aug. 28/91, Seth Johnson writes to Andrew Craigie, Boston :

“ You may expect your Sofa &c. by the first vessel.”

Sept. 3/91, N. & J. Frazier to Andrew Craigie :—

“ Inclosed you will find Bill of lading for 2 doz. arm Cane Back Chairs, which we hope are finished in that way as will be approved by you. Our J. Frazier has received the amount of the China sold you, for which he Returns you his Thanks. The Bill of the Chairs you have inclosed. They came a little higher than was mentioned to you when here, owing to the manner of their being finished. We presume the trifling amount over what you expected they would come to, you will not object to—We shall pay this Bill which, with some other little Things that we have paid for your account, we shall call upon Doct. Caldwell for, agreeably to your Directions given us, the particulars of which we shall furnish you.”

Plate was needed in a “ princely establishment.”

Oct. 18/91 :—

“ * * * Have purchased the plate of Mr. Cabot Lawful for Sterling—the looking glasses have bot also. They are safe at Cambridge.” *

* “ Weight of Plate bout for And. Craigie, Esq'— :

Of Mr. Cabot.	a Bread Basket of Deverell,		21oz. 18dwt.
	an Epergne Stand, the Baskett, the Branches, the Plates,	Doct' Howard,	59 “ 3 “
			26 “ 5 “
			12 “ 4 “
			23 “ 5 “
	a Tankard,		29 “ 18 “
	2 pair Sauce Boats,		51 “ 3 “
	2 pr. Candle Sticks,		43 “ 2 “
	2 pr. Salts,		9 “ 18 “
	Snuffers pan.		3 “ 18 “
	Mustard Pott, ladle & salt ladles.		
	Silver mounted Snuffers.		

Revere.	{ 12 Table Spoons,	28oz. 15dwt.
	{ a Soup ladle,	6 " 4 "
	{ 12 Desert Spoons,	13 " 6 "
	{ 12 Tea Spoons,	7 " 17 "

Dec. 14/91. Bossenger Foster to Mr. Craigie :—

" * * * —have also received the blue paper, 16 Rolls—"

Mch. 7/92. N. & J. Frazier to A. C., Boston :—

"When you was here, you talk'd of having a carpet made at the Carpet Manufactory at this place, a set of Furniture for a Room," &c., "but for neither of these did you leave any directions."

June 14/ 92. N. & J. F. to C. :—

"Maps not yet ready to be dl^d; expect them this day or to-morrow."

June 16/92. N. F., Phila., to C. :

"Inclosed is the Small Map; the large one shall be sent you as soon as it can be procured."

June 19/92. N. & J. F. to A. C. :—

"Our Fr'd Cutting left this place yesterday morning for New York; by him we wrote you and sent you the Small Map. The large one not being yet out we were prevented from sending it."

July 5/92. S. J. to A. C., Boston :—

"* * * Mr. Trumbull has selected from Barrow's prints a few for you, which, I have no doubt, will not" only "please you, but every one who may see them."

July 8/92. Seth Johnson to Andrew Craigie :—

"Your prints I shall send by first good opportunity, they consist of

1 Shipwrecked Sailor Boy, cost	£2. 2.
2 from Shakespear's Much ado about nothing,	4. 10
2 Dancing Dogs & Guinea pigs,	3. 0
2 farmer's visit to his Daughter & return,	1. 16
2 Angry farmer,—& Boys robbing an orchard,	1. 16
2 Henery & Emma & Angelica & Sacriponte,	1. 10
2 going to School & returning,	" 16—
2 first Bite and just breeched,	" 12—
1 Thoughts on Matrimony,	" 6
	£16. 4. 0

They are really a very handsome collection of prints. Mr. Atkinson will go in a day or two, and by him, if possible, I will send them."

Aug. 28/92. N. & J. F. to A. C., Boston :—

“ Enclosed you will find receipt for the large Map which you left us a mem^o of.”

Under date of July 9/93, there is an account of Nalbro' & Jn^s Frazier against Andrew Craigie, Esq^t which is endorsed : “ Bill of furniture of Mr. Craigie's Drawing Room, \$1034.14, beside the carpet.”

The items are as follows :—

“ Dr.

1793.

Jany. 9th. To amont of G. B — 's¹ Bill for Furniture made for you,” Craigie, “ viz :—

4 Window Curtains, as per particulars rend ^d you at		
£34. 3. 4 each, £136. 13. 4		\$364.45
12 Arm Chairs, 88. 18		237.07
2 Settees, 40. 6. 10		107.58
82 yds. green & white Damask, 96. 7		256.93
Boards for making boxes, 6. 10		
32 lbs nails, 1. 12		
Making 10 Boxes, 3. 15		
8 yds coarse linen to		
pack the window		
curtains in 12		
	12. 9	33.20
To 56 yds fancy Chintz Furniture for		
coverings for the Settees & Chairs, 12. 12		33.60
Porter ^s of Furniture to Vessel, /10		1.32
	£387. 16. 2	\$1034.14

Philadelphia, July 9, 1793,

Errors Excepted,

NALBRO' & JN^s FRAZIER.”

Under date of January 4/93, N. & J. F. had written to Mr. Craigie, Boston :—

“ We wrote you 20th ult and advised you your furniture was finished. We have at last met with an opportunity of sending it to you, &c.” Shipt on a vessel going to Boston.

July 5/93, four days before the date of the account copied above, the same firm writes that it encloses “ Bill

¹ Could not make out the full surname in MS.—S. S. G.

of Lading of ten boxes containing Furniture" sent by vessel to Boston.

The profuse hospitality of Mr. Craigie called for the purchase of more plate.

In a letter from Thos. Mullett & Co., London, dated August 14, 1795, is a copy of an earlier letter of Thos. Mullet to Andrew Craigie: London, May 29/95.

" * * * Your order for Plate & Glass sent us by Horace & Seth Johnson in theirs of 1 ult^o is in Execution and may be accomplished in about a month, we hope in time for the earliest of your fall ships. We have given it all that attention which its variety demands."

In the letter of August 14, Thos. Mullett & Co. write:—

" * * * Our chief object in this letter is to inform you that we have ship'd in the Parkman, D^l. C. Deshon, for Boston your order of plate & glass."

Aug. 18, the same firm writes:—

" * * * We now enclose you Bill of Lading & Invoice of Plate & Glass to your debit £360. 3. 4. In the execution of this order we flatter ourselves we shall afford you entire satisfaction as we have selected of the best; and in taste adhered to that elegance of design as well as in completeness of finish, which we think cannot be excelled by any of our Artists * * * "

One of the first things that Bossenger Foster did for his brother-in-law, after the Craigie House had been secured, was to lay in a supply of fuel. Nov. 30/91, he writes to Mr. Craigie, New York:—

" * * * Outside there is a Wood house and thirty or forty cord of wood in it so that when you return you will have a good fire and your own domestics only—have not yet got Mr. Brattle any wood altho' have used all my endeavors—it is 25/ a Cord here I got all yours up in Lighters—if you live another year you will not fail to get it up in the summer—to save money & the trouble, which is worse—"

Dec. 7, Mr. Craigie writes from New York to Mr. Foster:—

"I am glad to hear of the provision of wood you have made
~~made~~—I hope you will be able to procure some for my
 use as I fear he depended on what I said to him for
 supplied"

Dec. 17, Mr. Foster writes to Mr. Craigie (care of Messrs. Johnson, New York) :—

“ * * * be tranquil on your Friend Brattle’s acct as have procured him one Lighter load of wood with which he is much pleased—believe he will not neglect that matter another year.”

What a flood of pleasant thoughts arise in the memories of graduates interested in olden times at Harvard College as they read of wood being brought up the Charles to Cambridge. James Russell Lowell writes :—

“ Cambridge has long had its port, but the greater part of its maritime trade was, thirty years ago” (i. e. about the year 1825). “intrusted to a single Argo, the sloop Harvard, which belonged to the College, and made annual voyages to that vague Orient known as Down East, bringing back the wood that, in those days, gave to winter life at Harvard a crackle and a cheerfulness, for the loss of which the greater warmth of anthracite hardly compensates. * * * What a vista of mystery and adventure did her sailing open to us! With what pride did we hail her return! She was our scholiast on Robinson Crusoe and the Mutiny of the Bounty.”¹

In speaking of the attractions of Commencement at Harvard College, many years ago, John Holmes writes :—

“ The College sloop, that shadowy craft which floats in time indefinitely, always arrived in time for the floodtide on Tuesday,”² so as to be on hand for the festivities of the next day.

“ The Watertown lighter,” he writes again, “ was uniformly drawn ashore Tuesday evening by the perils of the seas, that is by the strong current that prevailed in the river about Commencement time. The Captain and crew, like judicious men, made it a point to improve their minds while detained, and always attended the literary exercises on the Common.”³

“ Our fuel,” writes Josiah Quincy of the class of 1821, “ was wood. which was furnished by the College; it being cut from some lands in Maine which were among its possessions, and brought to the wharf in the college sloop the ‘ Harvard.’ This arrangement was supposed to cause a great saving, and the authorities naturally prided themselves upon the sagacity which made this Eastern property so productive. It was not until Dr. Bowditch, the great mathematician, was given a place in the government that this arrangement was quietly abandoned. This eminent gentleman—perhaps from his natural aptitude for

¹ Lowell’s *Fireside Travels*, pp. 40, 41.

² In the paper “ Harvard Square ” in the *Harvard Book*, v. 2, p. 36. ³ *Ibid.*

figures—succeeded in demonstrating to his associates that it would be much cheaper for the college to buy wood from the dearest dealer than to cut it on its own lands and transport it in its own sloop.”¹

To show the change that has come about, let me give another quotation from Mr. Quincy :—

“ My classmate, Otis, had ornamented his mantelpiece with two curious black stones, which excited great interest in his visitors. He had made a journey to Washington, to see his father, who was a senator, and had brought these rarities home as special memorials of his travels. He had a strange tale to tell concerning them. It seemed that the people in Baltimore actually burned just such stones as these; and, wonderful to relate, there was no smoke in their chimneys. I believe that these singular minerals have become so popular in Harvard College that they are now brought there in considerable quantities. The only change is that they are no longer displayed on the mantelpiece, but just below it—in the grate. They will be recognized under the name of anthracite coal.”²

Mr. Craigie laid in a store of wine while making preparations to live in Cambridge and continued to buy it after becoming settled there.

Aug. 28/91, Seth Johnson writes to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

“ You may expect your wine * * * by the first vessel. Mr. Jackson arrived here yesterday from Georgia—he says the wine is not yet sold—& that there are many waiting to purchase it—he supposes it will not sell under 300 Dolls. a pipe—you may be assured he will procure it if possible.”

Sept. 1/91, Seth Johnson to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

“ By the first vessel you shall receive the wine.”

March 18/92, Seth Johnson to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

“ * * * By Barnard I shall send you a pipe of wine, between 7 & 8 years old, which I am sure will please you. I wish you to examine the pipe—the Bung is leaded and there is not a spilt hole in the cask—when you receive it you must fine it down with a little milk.”

¹ *Figures of the Past*, p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 41, 42.

Aug. 23 /92, Horace Johnson to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

“ * * * If the wine from Georgia arrives here it shall be shipped to you * * * I shall also send you a box of excellent Havannah Segars rec'd a few days since from Charleston.”

Sept. 20/92, Seth Johnson to Andrew Craigie, Boston :

“ * * * By Cap Barnard I have sent you 2 pipes wine—a box of Spanish Segars &c.”

March 7/92, Nalbro' and Jn° Frazier, of Philadelphia, write to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

“ When you were here, you talk'd of * * * speaking to Henry Hill respecting Madeira wine for your own use.”

June 14/92, the same firm writes to Mr. Craigie :—

“ The Ale, Cyder, &c., will be ready to go with your other Things which will be ship'd tomorrow for Boston.”

June 16/92, Nalbro' Frazier to Mr. Craigie :—

“ P. S. All the Things left in our care were ship'd yesterday, and to the list we have added 4 cases Claret and some best Havannah Segars. The Ale and Cyder also was sent from Morris's.”

Mch. 16, 1819. Thomas Parkin, Fayal, to Mr. Andrew Craigie :—

“ * * * He says you wish to have a Sample of our best wine. I send you two bottles by Capⁿ Shepard who is so kind as to take charge of them. They are prepared exactly in the same manner as such Wines are in Madeira, a very expensive and tedious process and always picked Wines. I have lately seen Madeira of £60 not so good as ours of £36, say four dollars to the pound strg. I would take American produce in payment, by which means they would become reasonable.”

Mr. Craigie buys horses through his correspondents in Philadelphia.

July 26, 1791, Nalbro' Frazier writes to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

“ Jo has arrived with the horses in good order. They appear to be sound and probably will be serviceable horses. * * * Upon the whole, I think you will be pleas'd with them. I have written our Fr. Johnson that they are here and ready to go on by any person he may send for them. Jo will leave this with the other horse sometime today or early tomorrow morning.”

Aug. 28/91, Seth Johnson writes to Mr. Craigie from New York :—

" * * * One of them," speaking of the horses, "is an excellent Saddle Horse—and indeed both—I hope they will please you."

In 1792 there is more correspondence regarding horses.

June 14/92, N. & J. Frazier write to Mr. Craigie :—

"Nothing further done about the Horses," (a memorandum had been left with the Fraziers to buy horses if found good on trial and not too high in price).

June 18/92, to Andrew Craigie, New York :—

"Our J. Frazier will try the Horses this afternoon with Mr. Lewis."

June 19. To Andrew Craigie, New York :—

"Mr. Lewis being engaged yesterday cl'd not go with our J. Frazier to try the Horses, but they intend doing it this afternoon."

Aug. 28/92. To Andrew Craigie, Boston, Mass. :—

"As soon as we send forward the * * * Horses to you," &c.

Sept. 27/92. To Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

"The Horses shall be sent you shortly."

Mr. Craigie buys a stallion and mare.

May 18/92, John Cokes, London, to Mr. Craigie :—

"I now advise you of my having made a purchase for your account of a Stallion and a Mare, and which will both be shipped * * * for Boston."—William Gibbs, a young man of good character, had been engaged to go with the horses. The pedigree of the stallion was enclosed. The mare had a foal.—"I gave one hundred guineas" for the stallion. "I gave the same sum for the mare with a foal at her foot six weeks old. My arrangements for the passage of the Horses and Man Servant is now finished, but the ship finds nothing but water."

Following are some extracts from letters regarding horses owned by Mr. Craigie :—

Andrew Frazier writes to Andrew Craigie, Boston, July

"I have now quite finished your riding chair; as soon as it is ready I shall be ship'd round to New York. I shall

pay attention to having the Chair finish'd in the neatest manner possible, and sent round to you when done."

Aug. 28/91, Seth Johnson to Andrew Craigie, Boston :

"Mr. Frazier informs me your Chair will be shipped by the Brig Maria, Capt. Hopkins, which was to sail in a few days."

Sept. 3/91, N. & J. Frazier to Andrew Craigie :—

"Your riding Chair we ship'd by the Brig^t Maria, Capt. Hopkins, who sailed this day week."

Sept. 5.

"Enclosed you will find Clark's Bill of Chair he has been paid by us, Doct^r Caldwell being absent at the Time, 16 dollars, and since by Caldwell 84 dolla., which leaves a balance due him of £8.5/ which will be paid him if you approve the Bill—The amount being greater than we expected we shall delay the payment of the Balance till we hear from you."

July 26/91, Nalbro' Frazier to Andrew Craigie, Boston :

"Hunter & Caldwell had agreed with Mr. Pemberton for his light waggon at £75, but when they call'd to receive it they found he had taken away the Boot with some other things which belong'd to it, and refused to Deliver them with the waggon, altho' he contracted so to do. They therefore tho't it best to decline the purchase—they are now about the one which you saw belonging to Mr. Pleasants; he has offer'd it at £100—at that price I think it is cheap, and in the course of the day I think they will strike with him for it, if they cannot get it under. They have offer'd £90."

Dec. 17/91, Bossenger Foster writes to Andrew Craigie, New York :—

" * * * In Expectation of a deal of snow and that you would want Convenient Carriage here this winter, I have building for you a pair of runners (which doubt not will please you) on which to hang the Coaches. They will be the thing and will cost you 25 Dollars."

Jan. 14/92, N. & J. Frazier to Andrew Craigie, New York :—

"Phaeton not yet finished."

Jan. 18/92, The same firm writes to Mr. Craigie :—

"When the Phaeton will be finish'd is impossible for us to say."

Jan. 26/92, The same firm to Mr. Craigie :—

“Your Phaeton will be completed this day. We shall have the same carefully put up & ship it to you by the first opportunity which offers for Boston, unless we receive your directions to the contrary.”

“1792.

Andrew Craigie, Esq^r to Robt. Fielding, Dr.

To new phaeton & harness, £235.0.6”

“Tradition avers,” writes Mr. Samuel Longfellow, that when the Duke of Kent had left Boston—and of his visit something will be said later—“Mr. Craigie purchased his carriage and horses.”¹

Speaking of the latter, Mr. Drake states that the Duke of Kent “drove a handsome pair of bays with clipped ears, then an unusual sight in the vicinity of Old Boston.”²

Mr. Craigie imported fowls from Philadelphia; did his mouth water as he thought of the capons he had eaten in that city?

November 30/91, Nalbro’ & Jn^o Frazier to Bossenger Foster, Boston :—

“Inclosed you will find receipt for eight Fowls, say two Cocks and six Hens, which you will please to take charge of for our mutual Fr’d Andrew Craigie, Esq^r.”

Dec. 5/91, N. & J. Frazier to Andrew Craigie, New York :—

“The Fowls we sent by the Brig^t Ceres,” which “sail’d last Thursday for Boston. The receipt for them was inclos’d to Mr. B. Foster; we hope they” arrived “there safe.”

Dec. 14/91, Bossenger Foster to Mr. Craigie :—

“Have received the fowls from Philadelphia, all in good order, except the old Cock—but like to have lost them all by severity of weather—shall take great care of them—they are a fine brood.”

In the middle of 1792, a cook was engaged for Mr. Craigie in Philadelphia.

¹ S. Longfellow's *Life of H. W. L.*, v. 1, p. 262.

² Drake, p. 311.

June 14/92, N. & J. Frazier write to Mr. Craigie :—

“ * * * * We have seen the Cook, who has promised to give us an answer on Saturday. We shall at any rate endeavor to get him on & let him make trial of the place, which if we can persuade him to do, we think he will not be dissatisfied with his Situation, his ostensible reason for not going was that the Wages were too low.”

June 16/92, the cook was not yet engaged.

June 18/92. To Andrew Craigie, New York :—

“The Cook wld not consent to go on unless you wld allow him 15 Dolls pr month which we have assured him he shall receive, and if upon his being with you 6 weeks or two months, and you do not approve of him, you have a right to discharge him, paying him at that rate, he leaves this place this day week, and we shall consign him to our mutual Friends, H. & S. Johnson & Co.”

June 26/92, N. & J. Frazier to Mr. Craigie :—

“The Cook takes this letter to you whom we have engaged shall receive fifteen Dollars p' month * * * P. S. It is also agreed that if the Cook sh'd not continue with you, that expenses to & from Phila shall be allowed exclusive of the fifteen dollars p' month.”

New York, July 7/92,

“Dear sir, We have advanced the Cook Sixteen Dollars.

H. & S. JOHNSON & CO.”

July 8/92, Seth Johnson to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

“ * * * * Your Cook will leave this on Monday * * * he goes by water to Newport.”

So much as to the preparations for opening the Craigie mansion. But something more was needed. There was as yet no mistress of the house.

March 11/92, Seth Johnson writes to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

“That you may soon find in some worthy woman that wife whose good qualities will tend to increase your happiness, and make the residue of your days glide smoothly on in uninterrupted felicity is the sincere wish of your affectionate S. JOHNSON.”

Six months later, Sept. 20/92, Mr. Johnson writes to Mr. Craigie :—

“Tis said here that Miss F——r has dismissed her lover and

that you are to become the happy one! How is it, if I may ask the question—”

In the previous year, May 31/91, Mr. John Brown Cutting had written from London :—

“I am still not without hopes of taking you by the hand and felicitating you on your new state of domestication at Cambridge—before the Summer closes.”¹

Now, Nov. 11/92, Mr. Cutting writes to Mr. Craigie from the “ship Mary, off Boston Light House” :—

“* * * I wish you entirely happy; pray marry and be so, and presenting me most affectionately to Miss Shaw and the whole of your Brother’s family accept my adieus and thanks and blessings.”

Matters develop naturally, and January 21/93, Mr. Horace Johnson is able to write to Mr. Craigie, Boston :—

“Permit me to felicitate you on your marriage—and to assure you that no circumstance can afford me more real pleasure than a knowledge of your happiness—that you may ever enjoy it undisturbed is my most fervent prayer. I will thank you to make my congratulations to Mrs. C—, for whom I feel the highest respect. * * * ”

Mr. Craigie married a daughter of the Reverend Bezaleel Shaw (Harvard College, 1762) of Nantucket.²

Mr. Samuel Longfellow says :—

Mr. Craigie’s “wealth and style won the hand if not the heart of the beautiful Miss Shaw of Nantucket, whose young lover had gone to seek his fortune on the seas, and came back only to find her married.”³

Josiah Quincy, whom I have quoted before, tells the following story :—

Mr. Craigie “kept a princely bachelor’s establishment at” his * * * “house, and was in the habit of exercising a generous hospitality. A curious story relating to his marriage was current among his contemporaries, and there can be now no harm in giving it as I have heard it from their lips.

A great garden party had been given by Mr. Craigie, and

¹ June 19, '92, N. & J. Frazier to Andrew Craigie, New York :—

“Our Fr’d Cutting left this place yesterday morning for New York; by him we wrote you.”

² Harv. Book, v. 2, p. 431.

³ Life of H. W. Longfellow, v. 1., p. 282.

all the fashion and beauty of Boston were assembled in his spacious grounds. The day was perfect, the entertainment was lavish, and the company were bent on enjoying themselves. Smiles and deference met the host upon every side, and newcomers were constantly arriving to pay that homage to wealth and sumptuous liberality which from imperfect mortals they have always elicited. 'Craigie,' exclaimed an intimate friend to the host during one of the pauses of compliment, 'what can man desire that you have not got? Here are riches, friends, a scene of enchantment like this, and you the master of them all!' 'I am the most miserable of men!' was the startling reply. 'If you doubt it, you shall know my secret. Do you see those two young ladies just turning down the walk? Well, they are both engaged, and with one of them I am desperately in love.' There was no time for more, for the crowd again surged round the host, and the friend was left to meditate upon the revelation which had been made. One of the ladies who had been pointed out was a great beauty of the time, and it so happened that Mr. Craigie's confidant was on very intimate terms with her family. It was well known that the match she was about to make did not gratify the ambitious views of her relations. Now, whether Mr. Craigie's friend betrayed his secret to the father of this young person cannot certainly be known; but the current report was that he did so. At all events, shortly after the garden party, he broke in upon the Cræsus of Cambridge with an exultant air, exclaiming, 'Craigie, I have come to tell you glorious news; the coast is clear; Miss — has broken off her engagement!' 'Why, what the deuce is that to me?' was the disappointing reply. 'Good heavens, man, don't you remember telling me that you were desperately in love with one of the young ladies you pointed out at the garden party?' 'To be sure, I did,' sighed Mr. Craigie, 'but, unfortunately, I referred to the other young lady.' Now * * * "it happened—or was said to have happened—that 'the other young lady' subsequently found good reason to break off *her* engagement, and, as Mrs. Craigie, came to preside over all future garden parties."¹

¹ Quincy. Figures of the past, pp. 25-27.

In *The Cambridge Tribune* of April 21, 1900, the following version of this story is given as having been in a paper read before the Cantabrigia Club, the day before, by Miss Alice M. Longfellow:—

"There was a party at " Mr. Craigie's " home one evening, and during the course of the merriment, some one asked, 'Why don't you get married, Mr. Craigie?' 'I would,' he replied, 'if I could have one of those young ladies on the sofa.' The young ladies to whom he referred were a Miss Foster and a Miss Nancy Shaw. They overheard the remark, and shortly after Miss Foster dismissed her devoted lover in anticipation of the good fortune which seemingly awaited her. But it was Miss Shaw to whom the happiness came. To make the story more romantic, the joy turned to sorrow. At Miss Shaw's house, where young men were taken into the family and prepared for college, there came a young Southerner one day who early began to take an interest in his teacher's daughter. The interest changed to

"Shortly before her death," says Mr. Henry W. Longfellow, as quoted by Mr. Samuel Longfellow, Mrs. Craigie "burned a large quantity of papers which she had stowed away in an upper chamber, and among them the letters of her young lover."¹

The darts of cupid struck two other persons in whom we have become interested.

July 5/92, Seth Johnson writes to Andrew Craigie, Boston :—

"I have a letter for you from Bossenger, Jun^r—which I will send by some favorable conveyance—poor fellow, I am afraid Miss S's charms have made an impression on him."

Sept. 23/96. N. & J. Frazier to Mr. Craigie :—

"* * * * Our Nalbro' Frazier is happy to announce to you his marriage, which took place Saturday evg., 13 inst. Our respects to Mrs. Craigie. * * *"

Mr. Craigie, as has already been stated, exercised a generous hospitality at Cambridge. Mr. Amory says he was fond of display.² Mr. Curtis, after speaking of the oriental lavishness of Nathaniel Tracy, a former occupant of the Craigie House, as we have seen, writes of Mr. Craigie :—

"Tradition is hard upon him. It declares that he was a huge man, heavy and dull; and evidently looks upon his career as the high lyric of Thomas Tracy's,³ muddled into tough prose."⁴

admiration and then to courtship. Mr. Shaw was not ignorant of Cupid's flutterings and, consequently, he wrote the young man's father. The boy was called home, the maid put aside her feelings and that was, apparently, the end of it. Then came the marriage with Mr. Craigie, which both families hailed with delight. Several pleasant years followed, until one day Mrs. Craigie received a letter. Upon opening it she found it was from her former lover, for such he had been, stating that his father was now dead and he was free to do as he pleased. He wrote that he was coming north, hoping to find her as faithful as he had always thought her. That was the end of Mrs. Craigie's happiness. From that hour she lived apart from her husband, serving him and managing his household as a faithful wife, but always remote in her thoughts and her feelings. After her husband's death she lived a lonely life, apart from the world, having dismissed all but two of her twelve servants and living in the rear portion of her house, the front of which she let."

It appears from the story told by Miss Longfellow that it was Miss Foster who was referred to by Seth Johnson in his letter to Mr. Craigie of Sept. 20, '92, quoted above, in which he wrote: "T is said here that Miss F——r has dismissed her lover."

¹ Life of H. W. Longfellow, v. 1, p. 265.

² Amory, p. 27.

³ The name is Nathaniel and not Thomas.

⁴ Curtis, in Homes, p. 277.

Whatever truth there may be in these statements, Mr. Craigie's hospitality was profuse and seems to have been generally accepted.

Tradition, says Mr. Curtis, mentions a dinner party as given by him every Saturday.¹

Mr. Josiah P. Quincy states that he "sometimes entertained over a hundred guests at the brilliant Commencement festival."²

Samuel Longfellow writes :

Mr. Craigie "entertained the merchant-princes of Boston ; and once, according to tradition, a prince of diplomats, Talleyrand, with whom Mrs. Craigie, much better educated than her husband, could converse in his native French."³

Mr. Curtis's words are :

"Tradition * * * on one occasion, points out peruked and powdered Talleyrand among the guests. This betrays the presence in the house of the best society then to be had."⁴

Talleyrand, it will be remembered, in 1793,—

"was ordered by Pitt to quit the island" of Great Britain "in twenty-four hours, and, as he had been proscribed by Robespierre, he took refuge in the United States. By the agency of Chenier, he obtained permission to return to France in September, 1795."⁵

Prince Edward, afterwards the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, also visited the Craigies.

Drake says :—

"In December, 1794, the Duke of Kent, or Prince Edward, as he was styled, was in Boston, and was received during his sojourn with marked attention. He was then in command of the forces in Canada, but afterwards joined the expedition under Sir Charles Grey, to the French West Indies, where he so greatly distinguished himself by his reckless bravery at the storming of Martinique and Guadaloupe that the flank division which he commanded became the standing toast at the admiral's and commander-in-chief's table * * * The prince was accom-

¹ Curtis, in Homes, p. 277.

² Winsor's Memorial Hist. of Boston, v. 4, p. 15.

³ Life of H. W. Longfellow, v. 1, p. 262.

⁴ Curtis, in Homes, p. 277.

⁵ Thomas, under "Talleyrand-Périgord."

panied to Boston by his suite. He was very devoted to the ladies, especially so to Mrs. Thomas Russell," wife, it will be remembered, of a former owner and occupant of Craigie House. "He 'attended' her to the Assembly at Concert Hall. He danced four country-dances with her for a companion, but she fainted before finishing the last, and he danced with no one else, at which every one of the other eighty ladies present was much enraged."¹

Was it not at the close of the year 1793, or early in 1794, that Prince Edward visited Boston? The following passages would seem to make such a correction necessary.

"At Gibraltar" the Duke of Kent "was put in command of the 7th regiment of foot (royal fusiliers). He at once showed himself a thorough martinet, and became so unpopular with his men that in May, 1791, he was sent to Canada." Late in 1793 he "received, at his own request, orders to join Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Grey's force in the West Indies. The navigation of the St. Lawrence being interrupted, he travelled by land at considerable risk from Quebec to Boston, and there took ship for Martinique, where he arrived 4 March, 1794. On the close of operations he returned to Canada."²

Following are one or two extracts from letters relating to the hospitality of Mr. Craigie.

Sept. 20/92, Seth Johnson to Andrew Craigie, Boston :

" * * * Mrs. Sands and family speak highly of your polite attentions to them."

I have already quoted from a letter of Mr. John Brown Cutting, sending his "adieu and thanks and blessings" in November, 1792.

¹ Drake, p. 310.

² The following passage from the *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, of February 8, 1794, given by Dr. Samuel A. Green in Groton Historical Series, vol. 2, p. 361, fixes the date of Prince Edward's arrival in Boston as February 6, 1794:—

"On Thursday last, Prince Edward, son of his Britannic Majesty, arrived in this town from *Quebec*. We are told that his highness has lately been promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, and is to have a command in the army in the *West-Indies*."

Doctor Green gives (pp. 360, 361) in the article quoted, some interesting particulars of Prince Edward's journey from Quebec to Boston.

"Edward Augustus, Duke of Kent and Strathern, prince, fourth son of George III., by Queen Charlotte, was born on 2 Nov., 1767," (J. M. Rigg).

July 29/97, William Bennett, after expressing gratitude for courtesies extended during a visit to Mr. Craigie, writes to him :—

“On board the Schooner Roebuck, Captain Crowell, bound for Boston, is 2 Mocking Birds, which you will oblige me by presenting with my most respectfull compliments to Mrs. Craigie * * * .”

Mr. Craigie continued active in business after going to Cambridge to live. His name appears in the Philadelphia Directory for 1793 as a Director of the first Bank of the United States.¹ The Craigie manuscripts show that requests were made to Mr. Craigie by gentlemen living in Boston or the vicinity to secure for them shares in the stock of that bank.

It will be remembered by persons familiar with the history of Cambridge that at about the time Mr. Craigie took up his residence there, there was a great speculation in lands going on in Cambridgeport. Mr. Craigie soon started another great land movement.

“While the measures adopted for the improvement of Cambridgeport were in the ‘full tide of successful experiment.’” writes Dr. Paige, the historian of Cambridge, “a similar enterprise was undertaken at Lechmere Point, in which the prime mover was Andrew Craigie. The earliest transactions were conducted by Mr. Craigie with much skill and secrecy. His name does not appear in the records until the whole scheme was accomplished.”²

In purchases and other transactions the familiar names of Seth Johnson, Bossenger and Mrs. Foster and Samuel Haven appear. Purchases began as early as January 31, 1795, and lasted, certainly, to May 5, 1807. At the latter date Mr. Craigie—

“owned about three hundred acres of land in two parcels nearly adjoining each other; the easterly parcel included almost the whole of East Cambridge.”³

May 12, 1808, the Governor of Massachusetts signed

¹ Letter of James G. Barnwell to Samuel S. Green.

² Paige, p. 183. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 184.

an act which completed the legislation sought by Mr. Craigie and his associates in enabling them to build Canal (or Craigie) Bridge from Lechmere Point to Boston.¹

"As nearly as can be ascertained from the records, Mr. Craigie paid less than twenty thousand dollars for the whole estate. Reserving sufficient land and flats for the construction of the bridge and the location of a toll-house, he put the remainder on the market at the price of three hundred and sixty thousand dollars. * * * The bridge was completed in 1809 and roads were opened to Cambridge Common, to Medford and elsewhere, to attract travel from the country to Boston over this avenue."²

Mr. Craigie and his associates were incorporated March 3, 1810, by the General Court, as the Lechmere Point Corporation.³ This corporation laid out streets and lots. But the records show that the sales of lands were few. "The first deed of a house lot entered on record is dated Aug. 20, 1810, and conveys to Samuel S. Green the lot on the northwesterly corner of Cambridge and Second streets, where he resided more than three-score years and where he died Sept. 8, 1872."⁴ "The records exhibit only ten deeds of lots given by the corporation until Sept. 20, 1813, when a sale of land was made which, March 16, 1814, came into possession of the 'Boston Porcelain and Glass Company.'"⁵

"But the 'crowning mercy' to the whole enterprise was the agreement approved by the corporation Nov. 1, 1813, and by the Court of Sessions at the next December Term," to give land to the County of Middlesex and build a "Court House and jail satisfactory to the Court, at an expense to the Corporation not exceeding twenty-four thousand dollars, on condition that as soon as the edifices were completed they should be used for the purposes designed."⁶ That agreement was carried out and the public buildings mentioned still occupy the same grounds. From this time the success of the Craigie land speculation was assured.

"Not only the River Street and Western Avenue bridges," writes Dr. Paige, "but most of the thoroughfares through the city" of Cambridge "which were opened during many years, were constructed for the benefit of West Boston or Canal bridge."⁷

¹ Paige, p. 186. ² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 187. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 203. ⁶ *Ibid.* ⁷ *Ibid.*

"When Andrew Craigie had completed his purchase of the Lechmere or Phips' estate, and was ready to bring it into the market by building Canal bridge * * * a sharp rivalry between him and his associates on the one hand, and the proprietors of West Boston Bridge and the Cambridgeport residents and landowners on the other, for several years kept the town in constant excitement and turmoil. * * * The severest contest between the two parties was in regard to Mount Auburn Street and Cambridge Street."¹

Canal bridge was opened to the public on Commencement Day, August 30, 1809.² The Commencement festivities at the Craigie Mansion must have been unusually brilliant and the guests jubilant on that occasion.

Mr. Craigie was a warden at Christ Church, Cambridge, in 1796.³

But after a time Andrew Craigie's glory waned and he had to live as well as he could in reduced circumstances. As George William Curtis puts it, his "'spacious times' came to an end. A visitor walked with him through his large and handsome rooms and, struck with admiration, exclaimed, 'Mr. Craigie, I should think you could lose yourself in all this spaciousness.' 'Mr. ——' (tradition has forgotten the name), said the hospitable and ruined host, 'I *have* lost myself in it,' and we do not find him again."⁴

"At the headquarters of Washington once," writes James Russell Lowell, in 1855, "and now of the muses, lived C——, but before the date of these recollections"—about 1825—"here for seven years (as the law was then) he made his house his castle, sunning himself in his elbow-chair, at the front door, on the seventh day, secure from every arrest but death's."⁵

"Mr. Craigie," says Samuel Longfellow, "having, as he said, 'lost himself' in his house, its grounds, greenhouses, equipages and hospitalities (not to mention outside speculations, such as the bridge which still bears his name)—departed this world, leaving to his widow a life interest in the estate."⁶

¹ Paige, p. 203.

² Winsor's Memorial Hist., v. 4, p. 27.

³ Paige, p. 310.

⁴ Curtis, in Homes, pp. 277, 278.

⁵ Lowell, p. 72.

⁶ Life of H. W. Longfellow, v. 1, p. 262.

Mr. Craigie died September 19, 1819, writes Dr. Paige;¹ in 1821 says Mrs. Isabella James.²

He was not the only one of the persons in whom we have become interested in this paper who became pecuniarily embarrassed. The lavish Mr. Tracy, who bought the Vassall House when sold under the act of confiscation, tradition states, lost most of his property.

Bossenger Foster writes in August, 1798, from Cambridge:—

"My D^r Bro! * * * I have given security to the bank and that Debt is to lye for 12 m^o. Shall be able, I hope, to do the same with the Union bank, but what shall I do for present money; have not wherewith to send a man & horse any way—the Sheriff is in possession of the furniture, &c.; believe all will do well at last."

Mch. 23/99, Tho. Mullett & Co., London, write to Andrew Craigie:—

"We were favor^d with yours of 12th Oct. the last day of November, and were extremely Concerned at your Confirmation of the reports we had heard relative to our friends at New York. Yours was the first positive information we had receiv^d" regarding, apparently, the embarrassment of the Messrs. Johnson.

Before we leave Mr. Craigie, a romantic incident connected with his life must be described. It will be remembered that Saxe Holm³ wrote an interesting little story entitled "Esther Wynn's Love Letters," that "Uncle Jo found these letters on the cellar stairs" and that "mysterious terrors gathered round them until it was discovered that they slipped through a crack in the upper stairs where they had been nailed" up "for safe-keeping. This is a true anecdote."⁴ The letters were discovered by Henry W. Longfellow after he came to live in the Craigie House.

¹ Paige, p. 183. Note

² I. James, p. 191.

³ In John Foster Kirk's "Supplement to Allibone's Dictionary," vol. II., Phila., 1891, the following statement is made under the name of Mrs. Helen Maria Fiske Jackson: H. H. "The stories published under the pseudonyme of 'Saxe Holm' in 'Scribner's Monthly,' and afterwards in book form, were attributed to her pen, but their authorship was never acknowledged."

⁴ R. H. Stoddard and others. "Poets' Homes," pp. 13, 14.

They were written to Mr. Craigie and "placed by him in their hiding-place," for what reason no one knows. "They were not such love letters as Esther Wynn's." It is said that Mr. Longfellow had intended making them the subject of a poem before he was frustrated by Saxe Holm in her story.¹

Samuel Longfellow, in his biography of his brother, makes the following remarks:—

"Whether or not" Mrs. Craigie, who occupied the house a number of years after her husband's death, "knew of the letters hidden away in the back staircase, which many years afterwards came mysteriously dropping one by one upon the cellar stairs below, history does not record. These proved to be letters—not of love, but of duty—from a young girl, a ward of Mr. Craigie, absent at school. Why one of the stairs should have been made into a box for holding them, it is not easy to see; probably it was originally constructed for some other purpose."²

Mrs. Craigie, as just intimated, long outlived her husband.

"Left alone in the large house, with a very small income," she "reserved certain rooms for herself and let the others to various occupants."³

The distinguished statesman and scholar, Edward Everett, was one of her lodgers. He married in 1822; and soon after, while serving as a professor in Harvard College, carried his bride to Mrs. Craigie's mansion to live. We remember Mr. Everett with especial regard in this society, for he was our third president and held the position for twelve years—from 1841 to 1853.

President Jared Sparks also carried his bride to Craigie House. "On the 16th of October, 1832," he "married Miss Frances Anne, daughter of William Allen, Esq., of Hyde Park, N. Y.,"⁴ and the following spring took up his abode with Mrs. Craigie.

Following is an extract from his journal:—

"This day began to occupy Mrs. Craigie's house in Cambridge.

¹ R. H. Stoddard and others. *Poets' Homes*, pp. 13, 14.

² S. Longfellow's *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, v. 1., p. 215.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 263.

⁴ Geo. E. Ellis. *Memoir of Jared Sparks*, p. 50.

"Mrs. Craigie was eccentric to the last. In matters of religion she was a 'free-thinker.' She used to say that she saw God in nature, and wanted no Mediator to come between Him and her. She had a passion for flowers and for cats, and in general for all living creatures. * * * She had a great hatred for the Jews; and when Miss Lowell said to her, 'Why, Mrs. Craigie, our Saviour was a Jew !' she answered, 'I can't help it, ma'am.'"¹

In reading this account of Mrs. Craigie, one cannot help thinking how ordinary were the views of canker-worms held by Oliver Wendell Holmes, compared with those of this sympathetic woman. Says Dr. Holmes, in an account of the Gambrel-roofed House in which he was born :—

"The soil of the university town is divided into patches of sandy and of clayey ground. The Common and the College green, near which the old house stands, are on one of the sandy patches. Four curses are the local inheritance: droughts, dust, mud, and canker-worms. I cannot but think that all the characters of a region help to modify the children born in it. I am fond of making apologies for human nature, and I think I could find an excuse for myself if I, too, were dry and barren, and muddy-witted and 'cantankerous,'—disposed to get my back up, like those other natives of the soil."²

Lowell remembers Mrs. Craigie :—

the "turbaned widow, studious only of Spinoza, and refusing to molest the canker-worms that annually disleaved her elms, because we were all vermicular alike. She had been a famous beauty once, but the canker years had left her leafless, too, and I used to wonder, as I saw her sitting always alone at her accustomed window, whether she were ever visited by the reproachful shade of him who (in spite of Rosalind) died broken-hearted for her in her radiant youth."³

Reverend Samuel Longfellow knew Mrs. Craigie :—

He "remembers very well visiting" her "in his early college days, to beg some autograph letters of Revolutionary personages, of which she had a store. She sat in her southeastern⁴ parlor, in white muslin turban and gray silk gown, with the sun shining among her window-plants and singing-birds; and as often as he took his leave she said, 'Be good; I want you to be good.'

¹ S. Longfellow's *Life of H. W. Longfellow*, v. 1, pp. 263-266.

² *The Poet at the Breakfast-table*, pp. 23, 24.

³ *Fireside Travels*, p. 73.

⁴ A mistake for "southwestern," is it not?

There was an awful whisper in Cambridge circles that she read Voltaire in the original. At any rate, her copy of his works remained in the library of Craigie House."¹

I fear that these dreadful suspicions were well founded.

I find in the Craigie manuscripts, Nalbro' and Jno. Frazier writing to Mr. Craigie July 21/94, when speaking of a third party,

"that he had not received the remaining numbers of the Encyclopædia in French. We pray you to make our respectful compliments to Mrs. Craigie * * *."

Mr. Henry W. Longfellow speaks of Mrs. Craigie's "old piano-forte."

In the manuscripts, August 4/91, John Coles, London, writes to Andrew Craigie, New York:—

"* * * will with much pleasure attend to your request respecting the purchase of the most approved musical instrument."

Here is an agreement, dated at Cambridge, Dec. 6/92:

"The Subscriber contracts to give Eight Lessons on the piano-forte to the Ladies in Mr. Craigie's family—two Lessons each week—for which Lessons is to be paid three pounds twelve shillings * * * —the half of which £3. 12 has been paid this day to Hans Gram."

A day or two before her death, Mrs. Craigie said to Mr. H. W. Longfellow:—

"You'll never be married again; because you see how ugly an old woman looks in bed."²

This pathetic little scene has great dramatic possibilities in it. See what a little rhetoric will do for it. Mr. George William Curtis thus described it nearly fifty years ago, in his days of comparative exuberance. Speaking of Mr. Longfellow, he says:—

"as he entered her room, and advancing to her bedside, saw her lying stretched at length and clutching the clothes closely around her neck, so that only her sharply-featured and shrunken face was visible—the fading eye opened upon him for a moment and

¹ S. Longfellow's Life of H. W. Longfellow, v. 1, p. 233.

² *Ibid.*, p. 265.

he heard from the withered lips this stern whisper of farewell—
“Young man, never marry, for beauty comes to this.”¹

The eminent lexicographer, Joseph Emerson Worcester, was one of the well-known personages who occupied rooms in Mrs. Craigie's house. Just before her death he bought the property.

The poet Longfellow, as has appeared in a statement by himself, quoted a few pages back, first went to live in Craigie House in the summer of 1837, sixty-three years ago. He afterwards “shared the house with Dr. Worcester, and, finally, in 1843 became the owner of the mansion and the adjacent land.”²

“The one hundred and fifty or two hundred acres of Andrew Craigie had shrunk to eight. But the meadow land in front, sloping to the river, was secured by the Poet, who thereby secured also the wide and winning prospect, the broad green reaches and the gentle Milton Hills.”³

Several of the beautiful elm trees which stood in front of the house when Longfellow first went there to live have disappeared.

As our associate, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, has stated, Longfellow wrote in 1839 of “ten magnificent elms.”⁴ But, as Mr. Higginson also tells us: the Poet “greatly improved the appearance of the grounds by the low-fenced terrace.”⁵

It is not my purpose, however, to speak of the Craigie House during its occupancy by Mr. Longfellow, or as the present home of a member of his family. Enough to say that it has continually grown more famous since the eminent and kind-hearted poet took up his residence in it, and is still an object of interest to an army of visitors, largely because it was his dwelling-place.

In conclusion, let Mr. Higginson discourse to us about this matter:—

“Craigie House,” he says, “has played a much larger part in

¹ Curtis, in *Homes*, p. 272.

² *Harvard Book*, v. 2, p. 431.

³ Curtis, in *Homes*, p. 283.

⁴ “*Old Cambridge*,” p. 125. ⁵ *Ibid.*

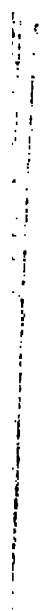
Cambridge tradition than the houses which were also the birth-places of Holmes and Lowell. Those who have spent summers in Cambridge during the last ten years must know well—such is certainly my own experience—that twice as many strangers inquired the way to Craigie House as to Elmwood and the ‘Gambrel-roofed House’ put together; and though this might be partly due to associations with Washington, yet I am confident that these made but a small portion of the whole interest in the abode. I have seldom felt so keenly the real worth of popular fame as when, one summer day, in passing Craigie House, I found a young man, of somewhat rustic appearance and sunburned look, eagerly questioning two other youths as to the whereabouts of the ‘Spreading Chestnut Tree’ mentioned in ‘The Village Blacksmith.’ Coming to their relief I explained to him that the tree in question was never at that point and had now vanished altogether, but offered to show him where it once was, and where the blacksmith shop of Dexter Pratt had stood. Walking down the street with him, I won his confidence by telling him that I was one of the Cambridge-bred boys who had ‘looked in at the open door’; that the blacksmith’s wife, Rowena Pratt, had been my nurse, and that I had, in later life, heard her daughter sing. He told me, in return, that he was a young Irishman, arrived in the country but the day before, that the first poetry he had ever quite learned by heart at school was ‘The Village Blacksmith’; and that he had resolved that his first act on reaching Boston should be to visit the Chestnut Tree. ‘This,’ I said to myself, ‘is fame.’”¹

Following is a list of the principal books which, in addition to the Craigie manuscripts, have been used in preparing this paper:—

- Allibone’s Dictionary, Supplement, Phila., 1891, by John Foster Kirk, 2 v., for article ‘Jackson, Mrs. Helen Maria Fiske (H. H.)’
- Amory, Thomas C. *Old Cambridge and New*, Boston, 1871 (reprinted from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July, 1871. With additions.)
- Appletons’ *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. II., New York, 1887, article on Edward Everett by S. Austin Allibone. Also article on Henry W. Longfellow, by Charles Elliot Norton.
- Chastellux, Marquis De. *Travels in North America*, London, 1787.
- Curtis, George William. Paper on “Henry W. Longfellow” in *Homes of American Authors*, New York, 1857 (copyright 1852).
- Drake, Samuel A. *Historic Mansions and Highways Around Boston*, being a new and revised edition of “*Old Landmarks and Historic Fields of Middlesex*.” Boston, 1899.

¹ “*Old Cambridge*,” pp. 125-127.

- Directories of New York, 1792-1798.
 Directory of Philadelphia for 1793.
 Eliot, Samuel A. A sketch of the history of Harvard College and its present state. Boston, 1848.
 Ellis, George E. Memoir of Jared Sparks, Cambridge, 1869 (reprinted from Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for May, 1868).
 Foote, Henry Wilder. Annals of King's Chapel, Boston. Little, Brown & Co., vol. I., 1882; vol. II., 1896. (See index for "Vassall, John.")
 Green, Samuel Abbott. Groton Historical Series, 4v., Groton, 1887-1899.
 Harvard Book. See Vallie and Clark.
 Higginson, Thomas W. Old Cambridge, New York, 1899.
 Holm, Saxe. Esther Wynn's Love-letters, in Scribner's Monthly, December, 1871, pp. 164-176. Reprinted in Saxe Holm's Stories, New York, 1874.
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell. The Poet at the Breakfast-table. Boston 1883.
 James, Isabella. The Cambridge of 1776. Cambridge, 1876. Paper, "The Batchelder house and its owners."
 Longfellow, Alice M. "Longfellow in home life"; paper in the Cambridge Magazine, March, 1896. Report of a paper on "The Craigie House" in the Cambridge Tribune, Saturday, April 21, 1900, p. 4. This paper was read to the Cantabrigia Club, April 20. Perhaps it is the same paper which Miss Longfellow read to the ladies who attended the meetings of the American Historical Association held in Boston a few months before.
 Longfellow, Samuel, *Editor*. Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 2 v., Boston, 1886. Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Boston, 1887.
 Lowell, James Russell. Fireside travels, eighth edition, Boston, 1883 (copyright 1864); paper, "Cambridge thirty years ago." This paper was originally published in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, vol. III., pp. 379 and 473.
 Paige, Lucius R. History of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Boston: 1877.
 Paine, Nathaniel. "Sketch of Samuel Foster Haven" in Reminiscences and biographical notices of twenty-one members of the Worcester Fire Society, Worcester, 1899.
 Quincy, Josiah. Figures of the past. Boston, 1883.
 Smith, Mrs. E. Vale. History of Newburyport. Newburyport, 1854.
 Stoddard, R. H., and others. Poets' homes. Boston (copyright 1877): Paper "Henry Wadsworth Longfellow." This paper, in skeleton, appeared in one of the earliest numbers of Wide Awake, where it was attributed to Hezekiah Butterworth.
 Rigg, J. M. Article, "Kent and Stratham, Edward Augustus, Duke of," in Dictionary of National Biography, v. 31, London, 1892.



REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

WE have at last returned to conditions of comparative quiet and cleanliness both without and within our beloved Antiquarian Hall. The Worcester County Court House is practically finished, and the laying out of the Court Hill Grounds—including those of the County and our own—is nearly completed. Among the internal improvements is the careful renovation of our copy of Michel Angelo's statue of Moses. This fine reproduction of the master sculptor's great work was presented by President Salisbury, Senior, in September, 1861; his gift of Angelo's statue of Christ having been received in February, 1859. Our friend and benefactor said of them: "The statue of Christ has been placed in the interior of your Hall as an emblem of true progress and a recognition of the principles that should guide and impel the action of this Society. Let the first of historians stand in the outer court, to represent the retrospective and antiquarian character of the Society, which first attracts the observation of the stranger."¹

Our book of accessions furnishes the following library statistics for six months, to the 15th instant: Received by gift from thirty-four members, one hundred and thirty-one persons not members, and one hundred and thirty-six societies and institutions—three hundred and one sources—fourteen hundred and twenty-three books; fifty-one hundred and nineteen pamphlets; eight bound and one hundred and forty-eight unbound volumes of newspapers; one hundred and twenty-four manuscripts; sixty-one photo-

¹ Mr. John Booth, a soldier of the war of 1861-65, who had given faithful service as janitor since November 22, 1884, resigned and was succeeded on December 4, 1890, by Alexander S. Harris.

graphs; nine maps; seven engravings; three portraits; three proclamations; three book-plates; one sword; and collections of early account books and programmes; by exchange seventy-eight books; one hundred and thirty-six pamphlets; and five maps; and from the bindery, three volumes of magazines; a total of fifteen hundred and four books; fifty-two hundred and fifty-five pamphlets; eight bound and one hundred and forty-eight volumes of unbound newspapers, *etc.*

I note certain gifts of special value, partly on account of their suggestive lessons and partly for convenience of future reference.

Mr. Eugene F. Bliss has added to our founder's rare collection of early tracts relating to English affairs, a volume containing twenty-four pamphlets, to which he has prefixed a convenient list. All but one were published in London between 1682 and 1706.

The Davis Spanish-American alcove has been enriched by a gift from our Mexican associate Señor Alfredo Chavero. It is the recently published, fully illustrated "Códice Borgiano. Interpretación del Códice por el Abate José Lino Fabrega de la Compañía de Jesús. Con un Estudio sobre los Dioses Astronomicos de los Antiguos Mexicanos, por Alfredo Chavero."

The George E. Ellis Fund has supplied the long needed Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. The publication of this monumental work—now covering Abbadie-Williams—was begun by Macmillan and Company at London in 1885, and the sixty-first volume bears their imprint of 1900. Its completion during the present year is assured.

Mr. J. Evarts Greene, of our Council—who sends to us some of his many calls for local information—has passed over to the Society, for reproduction, two tavern bills of early date, received by him from Mrs. Thomas S. Ely, granddaughter of Judge Lewis Bigelow. Sikes and

Thomas were "mine hosts" of the Society in former lays. See accounts rendered:—

S. B. THOMAS'S	
COFFEE HOUSE,	
WORCESTER.	
<i>Judge House.</i>	
	<i>Dls. Cts.</i>
Meal Board 2 Days 6/	2 00
Lodging 1 Bath 1/6	" 25
Liquor	2 00
Cigars Room & 2 days	
Bottled Cider	
Ale 1 B. C. Porter	" 25
Servant	
Horse at Hay	
Grain	
	<hr/>
	\$ 4 50
<i>Received Payment</i> } of L. Bigelow <i>Sept 24th 1824</i> }	
S. B. THOMAS.	

COFFEE HOUSE.

THE Subscriber having released his Tavern Stand Brookfield, has taken that spacious and commodious House in Worcester, (kept for many years by Col. R. Sikes,) where he solicits the patronage of his old friends and the Publick.

He will be devoted in his attention to all who may favour him with their company.

S. B. THOMAS.

Worcester. (Mass.) April, 1823.

THOMAS'S
COFFEE HOUSE.
WORCESTER...MS.

The Proprietor having recently purchased the Estate formerly owned by *Col. R. Sikes*, and known by the name of "*THE SIKES House*," has made large additions to the former buildings and is now able to accommodate travellers to suit their convenience. He has together with convenient Parlors and Sitting rooms, a splendid Hall for Pleasure Parties, a large and commodious Dining Hall and upwards of forty lodging rooms.—Bathing rooms are attached to the establishment.

L. Bigelow, Esq.

		Dolls.	Cents.
Board,	} 3½ days	3	50
Lodging,			
Wine,			
Servant,			
Horse at Hay, &			
Grain, 9 days		4	50
		\$ 8	00

Rec'd By't.

March 9. 1851.

S. B. Thomas.

Vice-President Edward E. Hale has released from his library shelves a large collection of Massachusetts State documents, thus enabling us to complete files of some of the early reports, as well as to render like service in other directions.

The important gift of Mr. Samuel Jennison—son and namesake of our first librarian—includes manuscript letters relating to subjects of interest late in the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth century. The more recent are friendly letters of librarians Jennison, Lincoln, Baldwin and Haven, which tend to confirm one in the belief that "The most precious qualifications that a librarian can have are precisely such as cannot be taught." Three of these characteristic epistles I wish to preserve in the body of this report:—

1. From Christopher C. Baldwin, is addressed to "Sam. Jennison, Esq. If not at the Bank, at his new seat in Pearl St."

My Dear Sir,

One of my spokes is so out of kilter that I have requested the Company of the Council at my Room at my boarding House, this evening at 7 o'clock; where I shall be very happy to see you. I have not ventured out of doors since Saturday and I did not feel up to breaking snow paths to day.

Your decrepid Friend

KIT. THE ANTIQUARY.

Last day of 1834.

2. From Mr. Baldwin, relating to the gift¹ of Mr. Thomas Wallcut of printed material "weighing forty-four hundred and seventy-six pounds including the boxes." The superscription is, "For Samuel Jennison, Esq., Charles G. Prentiss, Esq., William Lincoln, Esq., or either of them. Worcester, Massachusetts," and the letter follows:—

Boston, Thursday, 3. o'clock,

My Dear Sam.

Aug. 7, 1834.

I have just completed loading the Team with Mr. Walcott's

¹ See the Librarian's reports of April, 1889, October, 1890, and October, 1894.

Donation. It makes a most imposing appearance, being about as large as a load of hay. It has started and will reach Worcester on Friday evening or Saturday morning. I have preached to the Teamster about care and circumspection until I believe he cordially hates the sight of me, and I want to preach to you a little. The pamphlets are almost innumerable. I cannot even guess at their number. There must be seven or 8 thousand. I venture to say that there are three times as many as are now in our Library—at least four times as valuable. Dr. Jenks informs me that he has been familiar with them and that they are exceedingly rare. Among them are rare books: Neal's New England, Venegas' California, Colden's Indians, Hennepin, Venegas California, Wynne, Mason's Pequod War, William's Indian Grammar, Mather's Indian War, his Witchcraft, &c., &c., &c. I wish you to hand this Letter to friend Prentiss and ask him to see that the Boxes are all put into the Librarian's Room. They must be handled with great care, as the boxes are very tender, being antique & rotten.

I have directed the Letter to you thinking that you would be more sure of getting it. I intended to have directed to Mr. Lincoln, but I feared that he might be busy about his farm. Pray oblige me and I will reward you ten fold. I would come directly up; but Gov. Lincoln insisted upon my seeing Mr. Walcott and thanking him personally. He cannot be seen until tomorrow and it will then be too late for me to reach Worcester in season to receive the Waggoner. Besides I have not even seen the Atheneum pamphlets. I am going now to the Historical Rooms to look after them.

With all love & Duty,
and in a "foam of sweat,"

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BALDWIN.

A year later—on August 20, 1835, the life-work of this enthusiastic, industrious, painstaking librarian was completed, and at the October meeting Mr. William Lincoln paid the tribute to his worth. The last act in the drama appears in the Council Records of October 28, 1835: "Voted to allow the account of Mr. Kirby for opening the meeting-house and ringing the bell, for the Public Address on the 23d instant, amounting to \$1.50."

3. From Mr. Samuel Foster Haven to "Wm. Lincoln, Esq., at the Worcester House, Worcester." It was written soon after his election to the office of librarian, whose duties he did not assume until early the following year.

DEDHAM, Oct. 9th, 1837.

Dear Sir,

I fear I shall be obliged to resist the *carnal* enticements of Show & Feast, held out in your letter, and to postpone the enjoyment of Calumet and Council-fire beyond the limits of the present week. I am even compelled to the discourtesy of denying my protecting escort to a lady who goes from this place to day on a visit to her friends in your village, and to leave her to encounter alone the perils and difficulties (always duly appreciated by prudent Generals and mothers) which attend the transportation from post to post of the baggage and indispensable munitions of a winter's campaign. It is however barely possible that I may despatch my engagements in season to enable me to make my appearance at your "wigwam," on Wednesday or Thursday. If I can do so, otherwise than feloniously, I will plead guilty to malice prepense, and assuming my blanket and mocassins, (very important appendages for such weather as the present,) will follow the trail of the pleasure hunters who have gone before. At any rate, should I not do so, or have an opportunity to meet you in Boston, I will shortly visit Worcester, and discuss, at large, all matters relating to the duties of the office to which I have the honor to be appointed, and about which I am anxious to receive more particular information.

With great regard, truly yours,

SAM. F. HAVEN.

Wm. Lincoln, Esq.

The contribution of Dr. Leonard P. Kinnicutt includes many books of a miscellaneous character from the library of the late Hon. Thomas Kinnicutt, long time an honored member of this Society and of its Council. Rev. William DeLoss Love, Ph.D., presents his "Samson Occum and the Christian Indians of New England," indorsed "The same with loyal good wishes to the Society."

Mr. Nathaniel Paine has supplied the remainders of several of his historical papers relating to Worcester and its institutions, with his semi-annual gift of books and pamphlets of a miscellaneous character.

The Davis, Haven and Thomas funds, as well as the Ellis fund previously mentioned, have been drawn upon to strengthen the departments of the library which they so helpfully represent.

The gift of Miss Josephine C. Aldrich is largely of

educational material, used by her father, the late Hon. P. Emory Aldrich of our Council, while a teacher in Virginia. I find the following broadside announcement, dated August 1, 1845: "THE TAPPAHANNOCK MALE SCHOOL will re-open on the 1st of October next and continue ten months, under the continued superintendence of Mr. P. Emory Aldrich." After the usual list of branches taught, it is stated that "Board in private families, including lights, fuel and lodging, may be obtained for \$80 per session of ten months." Among the earlier pamphlets received from Miss Aldrich is "The | Intellectual Torch; | Developing an Original, Economical and | Expeditious Plan for the | Universal Dissemination | of | Knowledge and Virtue; | By Means of | Free Public Libraries. Including Essays on | The Use of Distilled Spirits. | By Doctor Jesse Torrey, *Jun.* | Founder of the Free Juvenile Library, Established at New Lebanon in 1804." The Dr. takes for his text the lugubrious couplet

*"Man's general ignorance, old as the flood,
For Ages on Ages has steep'd him in blood."*

In a preface dated August 6, 1817, he says: "The plan here proposed, for the general diffusion of knowledge through the medium of FREE LIBRARIES, has been submitted to the consideration of several of the most eminent statesmen and philanthropists in the United States and received their unanimous and cordial approbation."

We have received from Mr. Edward Atkinson and Mr. Lucian Swift pamphlets and books relating to our new possessions, and more particularly to our duties towards them. As during the earlier part of this century our founder gathered for posterity both masonic and anti-masonic literature, so at its close we would be rich in the literature of the so-called doctrine of imperialism and anti-imperialism; of expansion and non-expansion. And we couple with this a special plea not only for the major and minor publications relating to Cuba, Puerto Rico, the

Philippine and the Hawaiian Islands of the present day, but of all time.

The final act of beneficence in connection with the gift of our late associate, Mr. George Brinley, and his family, should be recorded in this report. It is explained in the following letter :

PHILADELPHIA, March 1, 1900.

To The Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, (Mass.)

My Dear Sir,

The late George Brinley, Jr., of Hartford, Conn., possessed a valuable library of Americana. Some years ago the library was sold at auction under a plan that permitted certain libraries designated by Mr. Brinley to acquire books particularly desired free of expense. The catalogues for the five sales were prepared by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Conn., whose accuracy and skill as a bibliographer have given them considerable value for purposes of reference, so that sets of the original auction room catalogues are now eagerly sought and bought at a high price.

The heirs of Mr. Brinley have had printed on large paper a small edition—less than one hundred copies—of the five parts composing the entire catalogue. They have added to the first part a biographical sketch of Mr. Brinley—including a discussion of his method of distributing his library—prepared by Prof. Wm. I. Fletcher, of Amherst College, in Massachusetts, and to each part a list of the prices for which the books were sold. The five parts or volumes are accompanied by a complete index also prepared by Prof. Fletcher.

Mr. Brinley's immediate heirs desire to present to the "American Antiquarian Society" a set of catalogues, as above described, that they may remain in the Library in your charge for purposes of reference and as a slight memorial of Mr. Brinley's love of books, which led him to collect his library.

The set of catalogues will be forwarded to you. May I trouble you, upon receiving the package, to write to me acknowledging its receipt.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES A. BRINLEY.

247 South Sixteenth Street,
Philadelphia, Penna.

The announcement of the Administrators on February 24, 1879, was acknowledged by President Salisbury on February 27, following. He said, "The Society fully and

gratefully appreciate the wisdom of Mr. Brinley in an arrangement most favorable to the largest usefulness of his excellent collection, and the good judgment and generosity of the family in carrying out his plan."

The first sale—in March, 1879—was attended by Treasurer Paine and assistant librarian Barton; the second,—in March, 1880,—by Messrs Haven, Paine and Salisbury, Jr.; the third, in April, 1881; fourth, in November, 1886; and fifth, in April, 1893, by the present librarian. After the sale of the first part, Mr. Paine arranged and collated, with notes, a list of books received, to which he added a Catalogue of the Mather publications previously owned by the Society. Printed additions to this list were made by Mr. Paine in 1880, and by your librarian in 1887. Referring to the second sale, Dr. Haven in his report of 1880 said: "The books bid off at the late sale of a portion of the Brinley library in New York can hardly be regarded strictly as purchases. They are virtually gifts from the Brinley family, and so far as we are concerned the auction sale was merely a method of valuation. It will be seen that we have thus been enabled to secure a class of costly rarities appropriate to our specialty, but such as we were not likely to obtain at our own expense. It is from this point of view only that the advantages of the opportunity can be fully appreciated." Notes on the succeeding sales appear in the reports of Dr. Haven's successor. In his report of October, 1893, after the final sale, your librarian said: "By a happy thought of the Executors a label with Brinley Library and the catalogue number thereon was firmly pasted in each important volume, thus handing down to posterity in the books themselves the name of the wise collector of this now widely-scattered library"; adding that "While it is quite possible that such a sale of *Americana*—*i. e.*, with a gratuity attachment—may cause a temporary rise in the value of like material, this need not affect the measure of our gratitude for the gifts

thus received. The fact remains that we have secured for all time rarities which would have been added in no other way to this great library of American history." We are proud indeed to be the custodians of eleven hundred and fifty-one books and fifteen hundred and forty-four pamphlets of the George Brinley library, and again to place on record an expression of our gratitude for the same.

The Reverend John Gregson sends his "Washington's Bequest to his Fellow Citizens: An Address at Wiscasset, Me., Jan. 7, 1900," with a copy of *The Sheepscot Echo*. This Wiscasset newspaper contains the following suggestive paragraphs: "The memorial discourse delivered in Wiscasset by the Rev. Alden Bradford on the 22nd of February, 1800, in compliance with a request from the Congress of the United States for a general observance of a day in honor of Washington, was printed in this town. A copy of it is to be found in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass. But neither the Me. Historical Society at Portland, nor the library of Bowdoin College, possess it. It is more than likely that copies of it may be found in the attics of some of our old houses. It would be worth while for our citizens who possess ancient documents to look them over for this oration. It is curious to observe that monuments of this character should become so scarce after the lapse of only a hundred years."

We have been able, by means of our stores of Washington funeral sermons, orations and newspaper material relating to the celebration days in early 1800, to throw much historic light for the guidance of celebrators in 1900.

We have received from the family of our late associate Mr. William Sumner Barton a generous portion of his library; and from Mrs. Penelope Lincoln Canfield the dress sword worn on state occasions by her grandfather, Hon. Levi Lincoln, *Senior*, when Attorney-General under President Jefferson. Also a framed Thanksgiving Procla-

mation on silk, issued in 1827 by Hon. Enoch Lincoln, Governor of the State of Maine.

A copy of "Child Life in Colonial Days" has reached us with the following inscription: "To the American Antiquarian Society—with cordial thanks for the assistance rendered in the making of this book—from the author, Alice Morse Earle, November, 1899." I couple with this the following printed entry: "This book has been written in Tender Memory of a dearly loved and loving child, Henry Earle, Junior, MDCCCLXXX—MDCCCXCII."

Mr. Benjamin Thomas Hill has supplied two excellent photographs of the interior of our main Hall, one of which has been sent as a part of our exhibit to the Paris Exposition; and the Honorable Joseph H. Walker has filled many gaps in sets of our United States Documents. For the latter gentleman we have acted as the distributing agent of his government remainders.

It has seemed wise for this national Society to aid the Library of Congress in the preparation of "The American Negro Exhibit" of books and pamphlets by negro authors, for the Paris Exposition. That our wide-spread membership may take an intelligent interest in this effort, I present for publication the first of a series of letters received by your librarian:—

LIBRARY OF CONG.,

WASH., D. C., Jan. 20th, 1900.

My Dear Sir:—

I write to say the Library has undertaken at the request of Commissioner Gen'l Peck, to collect all the books or pamphlets obtainable by Negro Authors.

It is proposed to make an exhibit of that character at Paris, to prepare a bibliography, and at the close of the Exhibition to install the Collection in the Library of Congress. No doubt many rare pamphlets are now in the collection of your Society and it is to have a list of them for bibliographical purposes that I address you. Mr. Edward C. Goodwin gave me your name and urged me to write. I sincerely hope this inquiry will meet your approval, and secure your coöperation as far as possible.

One of the difficulties one encounters in such a work is to learn the nationality of the author, which is dependent upon information often gathered outside of his book.

I enclose penalty envelope for reply, and label for any package you could collect from your duplicates, or from some of the colored people in the vicinity.

Very respectfully,

DANIEL MURRAY,

Ass't Librarian.

To Edmund M. Barton, Librarian, &c.

We have received from Mr. Robert C. Rockwell a letter addressed by one of the leaders of the Whig party in his District, to the giver's father, the Honorable Julius Rockwell of the United States Senate. The short but suggestive epistle shows the spirit of the times :—

WORCESTER, July 10, 1854.

Hon. Julius Rockwell,

Dear Sir,

By request, I forward to you for presentation to the Senate, the Petition of EMORY WASHBURN and six hundred others, men of Massachusetts, for the repeal of "*The Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850.*" They are principally men of this city, and their names have been procured by merely lodging a single paper, for that purpose, a few days, at one of our public offices. They are of all sects and politics, and the number of names might easily have been quadrupled by a general canvass of the city.

I ought also to add, that they are men who do not seek to nullify the provision of the Constitution in relation to fugitives from service; but they are determined that, so far as in them lies, the provision referred to, shall not be carried out, by legislation that violates the spirit if not the letter of various other provisions of the same Constitution, and which, experience has now shown, is destructive of the peace and subversive of the rights of the citizens of the free States.

Knowing that you will ably and faithfully represent our views in the premises, the petition is very cheerfully committed to your hands.

I am, with great respect,

Your friend & ob't Serv't,

IRA M. BARTON.

Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.'s, letter relating to his recent gift needs no explanation. The deed and agreement referred to have been placed as requested, and his

second letter—like the first, which appeared in my last report—is offered for publication :—

10 Walnut Street, Boston,

Dear Sir,

Dec. 1, 1899.

When I sent the "Tantiusques" volume to Worcester last summer, I supposed that I had weeded out of the Winthrop Papers everything which related to the Black Lead Mine.

Recently, however, there have come to light two additional manuscripts, which I have had mounted on silk as they were rather tattered, and which I send herewith.

One of them is a digging-agreement in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., dated July 7, 1658, signed by him, & witnessed by Samuel Willys and Philip Davis.

The other is a fifth Indian deed, dated Nov. 16, 1658, with numerous signatures and the following endorsement by John Winthrop, Jr. :—

"The Sachems Son of Tantiusques Surrender of his right there."

I shall be obliged if you will insert these two MSS. somewhere in the volume, appending to the Table of Contents a memorandum that they were found too late to form part of the original arrangement.

Yours truly,

R. C. WINTHROP, JR.

E. M. Barton, Esq., Am. Antiquarian Society.

The first report of the Public Record Commission of New Jersey, and the report on Stony Point Battlefield by a Committee of the recently organized New York Society for the Preservation of Scenic and Historical Places and Objects, have been received from the Commission and the Society, respectively. Such duly authorized work should be encouraged in all sections of our country, and the results placed within easy reach of scholars and students.

The volume containing the Proceedings of the Thirtieth Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac has reached us through Col. Horatio C. King, Recording Secretary,—his twenty-third annual remembrance. The first seven reports came during the secretaryship of Gen. George H. Sharpe, Col. King's immediate and only predecessor. Our late thoughtful associate, Mr. Robert Clarke, published

and presented to the Society, as issued, the first twenty-two reports—*i. e.*, to September, 1891, inclusive—of the Re-unions of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland. We greatly desire to complete this important file for our alcove of the literature of Rebellion and Slavery, as well as to add to our collection the doings of all kindred societies throughout the United States.

In the interest of library economy I would urge upon my fellow librarians the importance of placing the date of publication upon all title and half-title pages of pamphlet literature. The present tendency, which is in the other direction, should be corrected by concerted action. The importance of collecting photographs, maps, broadsides and other ephemeral material should also be constantly emphasized especially where the local library is the only place of deposit for such *desiderata*.

The quinquennial study of our list of givers and gifts is always instructive. Reference thereto will be found in the librarian's reports of April, 1890, and April, 1895. The figures for the five years to the present report show a semi-annual average of three hundred and nine givers, of which number forty-one represent members, one hundred and thirty-six persons not members, and one hundred and thirty-two societies and institutions. The increase has been satisfactory save within our own family. Here the average stated in my report of April, 1890, was forty-four, and in that of April, 1895, it was forty-three, while in the report of April, 1900, it is forty-one. If we ask "why this kindly disposition to place treasures in the custody of this close corporation?" it seems to me we must look back to the short line of early librarians. In particular to Samuel Foster Haven, LL.D., the scholar and teacher at whose feet I was privileged to sit for seventeen years. Referring to him President Salisbury, Senior, said in April, 1879: "I remember that when his success had become apparent, his wise policy was one day brought

distinctly to my notice by a question of a citizen of Worcester distinguished for his influence and aid in good objects, who was a liberal contributor to our Publishing Fund though he would not have accepted membership in the Society. Our friend asked 'Is Mr. Haven a good beggar?' The answer was decidedly 'No, but he is a good receiver.' This is the secret of his power to attract accumulations with which you have been enriched. No one could bring a desirable object to the library without gaining better knowledge of the value of his gift and more good-will to repeat the donation." The Society's old form of acknowledgment, still in partial use, reads "I am desired by the Council to express their thanks for your gift to the Library . . ." As the assistant librarian was inclined to acknowledge gifts on the day received, Mr. Haven said to him in his quietly humorous way, "It seems proper to delay the notice until there is time to call a meeting of the Council!" He never failed to adapt his words to the giver, nor to show the same gratitude for a duplicate as for a first copy. As a receiver he seemed to have unfailing good judgment, while the anonymous benefactor was a trial to him, as he has been to many another librarian since his day. However, his occasional entries, "from a friend," "from a source unknown," and "left at the Hall in my absence," indicate the conscientious recorder.

And here his successor records an oversight in his report of October, 1897, where on pages 53, 54 and 61 he credits a highly valued gift received from Mr. Charles P. Greenough, to Mr. Charles P. Bowditch.

Our honored President in accepting office on October 21, 1887, said: "Having always regarded the growth of the library as of primary importance, I desire to call the attention of the Society to the fact that for a long period one-half at least of our yearly accessions, which are very considerable, have been received from other sources than from members of the Society. In return for these gifts

1900.]

Report of the Librarian.

369

the library has offered and should continue to offer such facilities for study and investigation as the most liberal policy of management will admit." The conditions have not changed, and I recall with pleasure in my first report of 1900 this wise and liberal declaration.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Gifts and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BALDWIN, SIMON E., LL.D.,** New Haven, Conn.—His “Authorship of the *Quatre Lettres d’un Burgeois de New Heaven*.”
- BARTON, EDMUND M.,** Worcester.—Files of three magazines, in continuation.
- BLISS, EUGENE F.,** Cincinnati, O.—Twenty-four English pamphlets, 1682-1706.
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D.,** Media, Pa.—Dr. Brinton’s paper on Prof. Blumentritt’s “Studies of the Philippines.”
- CHAVEIRO, ALFREDO,** Mexico, Mex.—The *Codice Borgiano*; with notes by himself and José Lino Fabrega.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF.,** Cambridge.—His “Certain Additional Notes on Ignominious Punishments; and on Massachusetts Currency”; and his “Occult Methods of Protecting the Currency”; one book; nineteen pamphlets; and one heliotype.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L.,** Worcester.—Huntington’s “Short History of the Book of Common Prayer”; three books; and one hundred and ninety-seven pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE,** San Francisco, Cal.—His “Patriotic Services of Thomas Starr King.”
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D.,** Baltimore, Md.—His “University Problems in the United States.”
- GRAY, HORACE, LL.D.,** Washington, D. C.—“*Paquette Habana*. The *Lola* Coast fishing vessels exempt by International law from hostile capture.” Containing the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court as written by Justice Gray.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A.,** Boston.—Four of his own publications; fifteen books; three hundred and forty-nine pamphlets; one engraving; and “*The American Journal of Numismatics*,” as issued.
- HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D.,** Roxbury.—Eleven books; six hundred and fifty pamphlets; and two maps.
- HODDY, CHARLES J., LL.D.,** Hartford, Conn.—Two proclamations.
- HOAR, HON. GEORGE F.,** Worcester.—Eight books; three hundred and thirty-five pamphlets; one engraving; and seven files of newspapers, in continuation.

- JAMESON, J. FRANKLIN, LL.D., Providence, R. I.—“Pictures of Rhode Island in the Past.”
- JENNISON, SAMUEL, Boston.—Peter Heylyn's *Cosmography*, folio, London, 1674; ninety-eight manuscript letters; and a collection of Worcester programmes, 1831-1844.
- KINNICUTT, LEONARD P., S.D., Worcester.—One hundred and sixty-four books; seventy-five pamphlets; and four engravings.
- LÉON, NICOLÁS, Mexico, Mex.—One pamphlet.
- LOVE, Rev. WILLIAM DELOSS, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—His “Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England.”
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Thirty pamphlets; and “The Nation,” in continuation.
- MORSE, EDWARD S., Ph.D., Salem.—His “Review of Dr. Ratzel's History of Mankind.”
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Thirty-nine copies of his publications relating to Worcester; thirty-six books; four hundred and nine pamphlets; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.
- PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., *Editor*, Good Hope, Ill.—“The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal,” as issued.
- PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, *Director*, Mexico, Mex.—Four of his Mexican Statistical Reports.
- ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, *Commissioner*, Providence, R. I.—Early Records of the Town of Providence. Vol. 15.
- SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Fifty-one books; two hundred and seventy-four pamphlets; a collection of manuscript letters and clippings relating to Stephen Salisbury, Senior; six maps; one photograph; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.
- THWAITES, REUBEN G., Madison, Wis.—“Account of the 47th Annual Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.”
- UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—“The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,” Volumes 55-64.
- VOLLGRAFF, JOHANN, L.H.D., Brussels, Belgium.—His “Problèmes Musicaux d'Aristote.”
- WHITNEY, JAMES L., Boston.—His “Index to Pictures and Plans of Library Buildings in Boston Public Library.”
- WILLIAMSON, JOSEPH, Litt.D., Belfast, Me.—Abbott's “History of Belfast, Me., to 1825.”

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

- ALDEN, JOHN B., *Editor*, New York, N. Y.—Numbers of “Current Knowledge.”
- ALDRICH, Miss JOSEPHINE C., Worcester.—Three hundred and seventy-two books; and seven hundred and three pamphlets.

- AMERICAN INVENTOR PUBLISHING COMPANY, Washington, D. C.—“The American Inventor,” as issued.
- ANDERSON, JOHN R., Boston.—Two pamphlets of early date.
- ARNOLD, FRED A., Providence, R. I.—Two of his historical publications.
- ATKINSON, EDWARD, Brookline.—“The Anti-Imperialist,” *etc.*, as issued.
- AVERY, ELROY, Cleveland, O.—“Avery Notes and Queries,” as issued.
- BARNARD, FREDERICK J., Worcester.—Six manuscript sermons by Rev. Nathanael Hooker.
- BARTON, Miss LYDIA M., Worcester.—“The Association Record,” in continuation.
- BARTON, WILLIAM S., ESTATE OF.—One hundred and ninety-six books; six hundred and eighty pamphlets; six bound and three unbound volumes of newspapers; fifty-seven photographs; twenty-three autograph letters; twenty engravings; and a collection of early account books of Oxford and Sutton, Massachusetts.
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—“The Bulletin of Bibliography,” as issued.
- BRADLEE, Rev. CALEB D., ESTATE OF.—Three ancient pocket-books.
- BRINLEY, GEORGE, HEIRS OF.—Catalogue of the American Library of, in five parts.
- BROWN, DAVID H., Boston.—His “Simon and Joan (Clarke) Stone and three Generations of their Descendants.”
- BROWN, FREEMAN, *Clerk*, Worcester.—Annual Report of Worcester Overseers of the Poor for 1899.
- BULLARD, HENRY N., St. Joseph, Mo.—One pamphlet.
- BURTON, CHARLES M., Detroit, Mich.—His “Letters and Papers of the late Governor Woodbridge.”
- CALDWELL, Rev. AUGUSTINE, Eliot, Me.—The Hammatt Papers, No. 7.
- CANFIELD, Mrs. PENELOPE S., Worcester.—The rapier carried on state occasions by Levi Lincoln, Sr., when Attorney-General under Jefferson; and a framed Thanksgiving Proclamation on silk, issued in 1827 by Enoch Lincoln, Governor of Maine.
- CARRUTH, Miss ELLEN, Dorchester.—A Tribute to Rev. Edward G. Porter.
- CHAMBERLAIN, Hon. DANIEL H., West Brookfield.—His “Wheeler’s Surprise, 1675; Where?”
- CHRISTIAN SCIENCE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Boston.—Numbers of “The Christian Science Sentinel.”
- CLARKE, GEORGE KUHN, Needham.—His “Jacob Kuhn and his Descendants”; and his “Epitaphs from a Graveyard in Weston,” with notes.

- COATES, HENRY T., AND COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of “The Literary Era.”
- COLLINS, JOSEPH W., *Chairman*, Boston.—Report of the Commissioners on Inland Fisheries and Game, 1899.
- CORNISH, LOUIS H., New York.—“The Spirit of ’76,” as issued.
- COUSINS, EDGAR M., *Secretary*, Biddeford, Me. — Minutes of the General Conference of Maine Congregational Churches, *etc.*, 1899.
- CROCKER, GEORGE G., *Chairman*, Boston.—“The Ferry, 1630; The Charles River Bridge, 1785, and the Charlestown Bridge, 1899.”
- CROWELL AND KIRKPATRICK, Springfield, O.—“The Woman’s Home Companion,” as issued.
- CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—His “Old Stores and Storekeepers of Fitchburg.”
- DAY, Rev. JOHN W., St. Louis, Mo.—One pamphlet.
- DE MENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo. — “The Hesperian,” as issued.
- DICKEY, Mrs. JOHN, Leominster.—Genealogy of the Dickey Family.
- DICKINSON, G. STEWART, Worcester, “Scott’s Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue, 1900.”
- DODGE, Hon. RUFUS B., Jr., *Mayor*, Worcester.—His Inaugural Address of January 1, 1900.
- DONAHOE MAGAZINE COMPANY, Boston. — Numbers of “Donahoe’s Magazine.”
- EARLE, Mrs. ALICE MORSE, Brooklyn, N. Y. — Her “Child Life in Colonial Days.”
- ELLSWORTH, J. LEWIS, Worcester.—Manual for the Massachusetts General Court, 1900.
- ELY, Mrs. THOMAS S., Peoria, Ill.—Two manuscripts.
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A PHILANTHROPIST OF THE LAST CENTURY IDENTIFIED AS A BOSTON MAN.

BY ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL.

It is always interesting to look back to the beginnings of things, and all those who are interested in the education of the Deaf-and-Dumb naturally desire to know something of the origin of the art in America; and to look back to those philanthropists who first urged the education of the deaf in this country, and gave us information concerning what was done in earlier times in Europe. Now, the curious fact is found that these early philanthropists appeared anonymously. The results of their efforts have been very great. Today, we have under instruction, in American Schools for the Deaf, more than ten thousand deaf children, who, a few years ago, would have been termed "Deaf-Mutes," or "Deaf-and-Dumb." They are no longer deaf-and-dumb, for more than sixty-one per cent. are now taught to speak.

The first to urge the education of the Deaf in this country, was a writer whose articles appeared in the Boston newspapers. Under the pseudonym *Philocophos* — the friend of the Deaf-and-Dumb—he published in the *New England Palladium*, in 1803 (June 14), a card—"To the Reverend the Clergy (of every persuasion and denomination) of the State of Massachusetts"—asking for details concerning the Deaf-and-Dumb within their knowledge, for the purpose of obtaining statistics to show that there were in this country a sufficient number of Deaf-Mutes to warrant the establishment of an American School for the

Deaf. During the course of the year 1803, a number of communications from this writer appeared in the *Palladium*.

In the same year (1803) the *Palladium* published a series of papers upon the De L'Epée method of instructing the Deaf-and-Dumb, under the title: "Extracts from letters of the Celebrated Abbé De L'Epée, written in 1776, translated by Francis Green, Esq., of Medford."

On the first of November (1803) a short note appeared in the *Palladium*, which attacked the accuracy of the statements made by Francis Green, by stating that "the method of instructing the Deaf-and-Dumb ascribed to the Abbé De L'Epée is now said to have been invented by M. Perreire, a Spaniard." Whereupon the anonymous writer *Philocophos* wrote a letter to the editors (published 1803, November 11), in which he defended the statement made by Francis Green, and gave a one-column lecture upon the art of instructing the Deaf-and-Dumb. This remarkable letter showed that *Philocophos* was a master of his subject; and in it—for the first time in America—was brought together, by title and by specific reference, nearly the complete literature of the world relating to the education of the Deaf-and-Dumb. I say "for the first time in America," because a very similar list had appeared at an earlier date (1801) in a book published in London, England,—to which, however, *Philocophos* did not refer. He made no mention of the book, although it was—and still is—a standard work, from which instructors of the deaf, in English speaking countries, obtain their knowledge of the De L'Epée method of instruction, and of the early works relating to the education of the Deaf-and-Dumb. This book—like the letter of *Philocophos*—was published anonymously. It was an English translation of a work by De L'Epée, entitled:—"The method of educating the Deaf-and-Dumb: confirmed by long experience. By the

Abbé De L'Épée, translated from the French and Latin, London, 1801."

The translation was reprinted in England by Arrowsmith in 1819; and in America, by the *American Annals of the Deaf*, in 1860 (Vol. XII., pp. 1-132).

The anonymous translator, in his preface, brought together the ^mules of nearly all the earlier books and articles relating to the education of the Deaf-and-Dumb; and yet—like ^g*Philocophos*—he omitted from his list an earlier and well known book. This work was entitled:—"Vox Oculis Subjecta:—A Dissertation on the most curious and important Art of Imparting Speech and the Knowledge of Language to the naturally Deaf and (consequently) Dumb: With a particular Account of the Academy of Messieurs Braidwood of Edinburgh: and a Proposal to perpetuate and extend the benefits thereof. Written by a Parent. London, 1783."

To this book the world is largely indebted for its knowledge of the celebrated academy of Messrs. Thomas and John Braidwood, of Edinburgh, opened in 1760, where Deaf-Mutes were successfully taught to speak and to understand speech by watching the mouths of others. It also gives us our chief information of the early English writers upon the subject; and, indeed, to the author we are indebted for the preservation of much that had been written in England in the seventeenth century; for he quoted voluminously from the early writers.

To Dr. Joseph C. Gordon, Superintendent of the Illinois Institution for the Deaf-and-Dumb, we are indebted for the discovery that the Translator's Preface of the De L'Épée translation of 1801, contains internal evidence that it was written by the author of "Vox Oculis Subjecta"; and to Dr. Samuel A. Green, Librarian of the Massachusetts

¹ See "The Art of instructing the Infant deaf & dumb" by John Pouncefort Arrowsmith, London, 1819. To which is annexed the "method of educating mutes of a more mature age which has been practised with so much success on the continent by the Abbé de l'Épée."

Historical Society, we are indebted for the information that "Vox Oculis Subjecta" was written by his kinsman,—Francis Green, of Medford, Massachusetts (the same who published translations from De L'Epée in the *New England Palladium*, in 1803),—and that Francis Green was also the anonymous writer *Philocophos*. [4]

Dr. Green also made known the fact that Francis Green left an autobiography, which still exists in the possession of a grandson, Commander Francis M. Green, of the United States Navy. This unpublished autobiography, in the handwriting of Francis Green himself —(written in 1806)—confirms and verifies the conclusion that Francis Green,—*Philocophos*—the author of the De L'Epée translation of 1801—and the author of "Vox Oculis Subjecta,"¹ were one and the same person.

Francis Green was born in Boston in 1742. In 1745, his father (Benjamin) accompanied Sir William Pepperrell, as his private secretary, to Cape Breton, and after the fall of Louisburg he remained in that city, holding official positions, and later he received a government appointment at Halifax, N. S., where he settled permanently with his family. Francis, however, spent a portion of his school days in Boston. He was a pupil in Mr. Lovell's school, and at the age of fourteen years entered Harvard College. The following year, 1757, his father having previously purchased for him an Ensign's commission in the British army, he was ordered to his regiment, where he served for some time. He received his degree at Harvard in 1760, and in 1766 sold his commission in the army, returned to Boston, married his cousin, Susanna (daughter of the well-known patriot Joseph Green), and established himself as a merchant in that city. He was an importer of general merchandise. He owned a vessel "The Susanna,"

¹ A copy of "Vox Oculis Subjecta," containing many notes in the handwriting of Francis Green, may be found in the Volta Bureau for the Increase and Diffusion of Knowledge relating to the Deaf, 35th and Q Streets, Washington, D. C.

which plied between Boston and London, and his business extended to several of the New England colonies. He had five children; two died in infancy. By a second marriage he had six children. The youngest of these, Mathews Wyllly Green, was the father of Commander Francis M. Green before mentioned. As his political prejudices were not in strict accord with those of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and others, but were more in sympathy with the loyalist party, he removed from Boston when Gen. Howe evacuated the town, and for several years he appears to have been somewhat of a wanderer. His wife died in 1775. In 1776 he was in Halifax, N. S. In 1777 he was in New York. Here he lost one of his little boys by accident; the child was shockingly burned and died in a few hours. In 1778 Francis Green was proscribed and banished, and in 1780 he went to England. His only living son, Charles Green, was deaf and dumb; and in February, 1780, when about eight years of age, he was placed under the instruction of the celebrated Thomas and John Braidwood, in Edinburgh, Scotland. The Braidwood Academy had then been established for about twenty years, and had become famous all over the world for its successful instruction of the deaf and dumb. In May, 1781, Francis Green paid a visit to Edinburgh to see his son; and the little boy, anxious to exhibit his accomplishments, eagerly advanced and addressed him by word of mouth:—"How do you do, dear Papa!" We may imagine the father's surprise and delight. "It exceeds the power of words," says Francis Green, "to convey any idea of the sensations experienced at this interview." He remained in Edinburgh for about six weeks and was every day at the Academy. He wrote a letter from London to his friend, Mr. Richard Bagley, of New York, describing his visit and the impression made upon his mind by what he saw. This letter, although written in 1781, was not published until 1804—twenty-three years after its date—when it appeared in a

medical journal (but without the writer's name), as an article "On teaching the Deaf to understand Language and the Dumb to Speak."¹ This article, ultimately, after many years, had an influence on the foundation of the New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.

In 1782 Francis Green again visited his son at the Braidwood School, and was greatly surprised and gratified by the progress he had made. During his visits to Edinburgh Francis Green had become aware of the fact that large numbers of deaf children had been denied admittance to the school because their parents were unable to pay for their instruction; and he soon conceived the idea of establishing a Charitable Institution which should furnish free instruction for the deaf. This was the motive that led him, in 1783, to publish his book, "*Vox Oculis Subjecta*," in which he developed his plan for a public institution in London to be supported by subscription. He was aware of the fact that schools for the education of the deaf had arisen in various countries during the preceding centuries, and that these schools had perished when their founders died; and he was disturbed by the thought that the Braidwoods, "the present professors of this art, like all other men 'whose breath is in their nostrils,' may be suddenly taken away before any successors are duly qualified."

"To render this art universally successful," he says, "it is necessary that some ingenious young men should be instructed and qualified to assist and succeed the present professors, and that a fund should be established under the direction of proper managers, to be applied to the purpose of educating those whose parents are altogether unable to defray such expense, and to assist others who can afford a part but not the whole, by which means *all* the deaf, however scattered, might be collected and taught.

¹ See "The Medical Repository, & Review of American Publications in Medicine, Surgery, and the Auxiliary Branches of Science." N. Y., 1804, Vol. II. (for May, June & July), pp. 73-75. The article has been republished in the *Association Review*, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Feb., 1900, Vol. II., pp. 66-68.

and consequently rescued from certain ignorance, from idleness, and from want, as well as every defect in speech (however inconvenient and violent) rectified."—*Vox Oculis Subjecta*.

To the great disappointment of Francis Green, the Braidwoods did not take kindly to his well-meant plan for the perpetuation and extension of their system, and preferred to go about it in their own way. They moved their private school from Edinburgh to Hackney, near London (1783); and succeeded in creating a family monopoly of the whole art of instructing the deaf in Great Britain, which lasted at least until the year 1815. Teachers were even placed under heavy bonds to keep the methods of instruction secret. The Braidwoods published nothing, and indeed, as Francis Green remarks, "so far from allowing the world at large the knowledge of their advances or the benefit of their improvements, have rather, like Perreire and Heinicke, been desirous of keeping them in obscurity and mystery; and (to borrow the comparison of a recent writer upon an occasion not very dissimilar) 'like the Jewish Talmudists, who dealt in secret writings, of allowing no persons to be professed *practical conjurers* but the Sanhedrim themselves.'"—*De L' Epée, translation of 1801*.

Francis Green was wofully disappointed with the Braidwood family; and in 1784 he returned to America and took up his residence near Halifax, N. S. He retired to his farm at Cole Harbor and became High Sheriff of the County of Halifax. Here his deaf son, Charles, joined him, after completing his education at the Braidwood School. He did not long, however, enjoy the pleasure of his son's society, for, in less than a year after his return, the young man was accidentally drowned at Cole Harbor while engaged in shooting. His death occurred in 1787 (August 29). In November following, his father resigned the office of high sheriff, and for several years afterwards

we have no definite information concerning him. In 1790 and 1791 we find him in Paris, France, where he was a frequent visitor at the De L' Epée School for the Deaf and Dumb, which was then carried on by the Abbé Sicard, De L' Epée having died in 1789.

The Abbé De L'Epée had been a philanthropist after his own heart—a man who had devoted his life and his fortune to the unfortunate Deaf-and-Dumb—a man who refused payment for his services, allowing the wealthy to educate their own children by other teachers, and devoted himself to the poor, without emolument. Although the inventor of the system of instruction which bears his name, characterized by the use of a conventional language of signs, De L'Epée was not wedded to anything save the good of his pupils. He taught them to speak, and to read speech from the mouths of others, as well as to communicate by fingers-spelling and signs :—But the Abbé Sicard had given up teaching them utterance, conducting their education solely by silent methods of instruction, a plan which grieved the kind heart of Francis Green, who had tender recollections of the success attained in this direction with his own son.

Returning to London, after his visit to Paris in 1790 and 1791, he became again imbued with the idea of establishing a charitable institution in London for the free instruction of the deaf. He at once set about the undertaking, and then found that a few gentlemen had already begun to take steps upon a similar enterprise. Without inquiring as to how far they were indebted to him for their first ideas upon the subject, through his publication of "*Vox Oculis Subjecta*" in 1783, he at once abandoned his own plans, and united with them to bring about the practical execution of their ideas. These efforts were successful, and in 1792, there was established in Bermondsey, near London, under the patronage of the Marquis of Buckingham, the first charitable institution for the education of

the Deaf-and-Dumb ever opened in English speaking countries. The school still exists as the Old Kent Road Institution in London. Francis Green's name does not seem to have been publicly associated with it in any way. His philanthropy, however, was of so broad and generous a character, that he was satisfied with the fact of the existence of the school, without claiming that personal recognition which was his due. He evidently, however, was proud of this achievement; for nearly all the copies of "*Vox Oculis Subjecta*" which exist in this country, contain a note, in the handwriting of Francis Green, facing the title-page, to the following effect:—

"P. S. Since the publication of the following a public charitable institution has been happily effected in England under the patronage of the Duke of Buckingham, and other benevolent characters."

In 1793, we find him again in his Nova Scotia home, and in December of that year, he became First Joint Treasurer (*pro tempore*) of the Province of Nova Scotia; and in January, 1794, he was appointed a Justice of the Court of Pleas. In 1796, his lands and buildings at Preston, Cole Harbor and Dartmouth were purchased in order to make a settlement for six hundred Maroons, who had arrived from Jamaica, and now he determined to return to the land of his nativity and to the city of his birth. In June, 1797, he settled in Medford, near Boston, which remained his home until the day of his death. He visited Europe again about the beginning of the present century, and was grieved to find that De L'Épée, the great philanthropist, was almost forgotten, even in his own country, France, although only a few years had elapsed since he passed away.

Francis Green at this time seems to have formed the resolution of rescuing from oblivion the writings of De L'Épée. He translated his latest work into English, and published it in London in 1801; and after his return

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schools for the Deaf—both in England and America; the first parent of a deaf child to plead for the education of all deaf children.

It may be interesting to know, in this connection, that a tablet has been erected to his memory "By the Parents of Deaf Children in his native City," in the porch of the Horace Mann School for the Deaf, 178 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts.¹

¹ For further details concerning Francis Green, his publications, and labors for the Deaf, see *The Association Review*, an educational magazine published by the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf, edited by Frank W. Booth, Mount Airy, Philadelphia Penn., Vol. II., pp. 33-69; 119-126.

Historical Society, we are indebted for the information that "Vox Oculis Subjecta" was written by his kinsman,—Francis Green, of Medford, Massachusetts (the same who published translations from De L'Epée in the *New England Palladium*, in 1803),—and that Francis Green was also the anonymous writer *Philocophos*.

Dr. Green also made known the fact that Francis Green left an autobiography, which still exists in the possession of a grandson, Commander Francis M. Green, of the United States Navy. This unpublished autobiography, in the handwriting of Francis Green himself —(written in 1806)—confirms and verifies the conclusion that Francis Green,—*Philocophos*—the author of the De L'Epée translation of 1801—and the author of "Vox Oculis Subjecta,"¹ were one and the same person.

Francis Green was born in Boston in 1742. In 1745, his father (Benjamin) accompanied Sir William Pepperrell, as his private secretary, to Cape Breton, and after the fall of Louisburg he remained in that city, holding official positions, and later he received a government appointment at Halifax, N. S., where he settled permanently with his family. Francis, however, spent a portion of his school days in Boston. He was a pupil in Mr. Lovell's school, and at the age of fourteen years entered Harvard College. The following year, 1757, his father having previously purchased for him an Ensign's commission in the British army, he was ordered to his regiment, where he served for some time. He received his degree at Harvard in 1760, and in 1766 sold his commission in the army, returned to Boston, married his cousin, Susanna (daughter of the well-known patriot Joseph Green), and established himself as a merchant in that city. He was an importer of general merchandise. He owned a vessel "The Susanna,"

¹ A copy of "Vox Oculis Subjecta," containing many notes in the handwriting of Francis Green, may be found in the Volta Bureau for the Increase and Diffusion of Knowledge relating to the Deaf, 35th and Q Streets, Washington, D. C.

Philadelphia, and there the course of instruction had been but partial; the first full course of lectures was begun there in this same year, 1768. It is not surprising that the opportunity of study and practice after the usual custom, with the famous Dr. Holyoke not further away from Worcester than Salem, was preferred to the almost untried experiment at the then very distant city of Philadelphia. One very fortunate result, at least, may be noted, that in Salem he made the acquaintance of the lady whom he married a few years later.

In 1771, after about three years of study, he returned to Worcester, with every prospect of becoming a leader in the medical profession.

January 18, 1773, he entered into a business partnership which seems to me quite unique, and well worthy of your notice. The Indenture, which is now in the possession of one of his descendants, is "between Levi Shephard apothecary & Eben^r Hunt, Jun^r Physician, both of Northampton, on the one part, and William Paine, Physician, of Worcester, to continue as Traders in the Art, Mystery & Business [of] an apothecary, and of the Practice of Physick." Each party put in two hundred pounds value. Shephard and Hunt were to practise as apothecaries, and Paine to "practise Physick afores^d whenever he shall have oppor^t without any expence to said Shephard & Hunt, except one half of the expense of a Horse and Horse-keeping, and one half of y^e Med^l the said William may use in his said Practice, which is hereby agreed shall be taken out of the Shop by said Dr^r William at any time." Profits and losses were to be divided equally, and the partnership was to terminate about ten years later, on July 7, 1783. In the *Massachusetts Spy* of the latter part of July, 1783, appeared an advertisement announcing that this partnership had ended.

It seems highly probable that this business venture brought very little profit to Dr. Paine, on account of the

revolutionary struggle which began in the following year: and on the 5th of February, 1779, the agent of the estate of Dr. William Paine, late of Worcester, was directed by resolve of the Provincial Congress to put Levi Shephard in possession of one-half of a shop in Worcester, the property of said Paine. This act may have been a confiscation, or possibly the result of a lawsuit or of a friendly arrangement. Whatever this may have meant the partnership was considered to be in force till four years later.

September 23d, 1773, Dr. Paine was married to "Miss Lois Orne, daughter of Mr. Timothy Orne, deceased, a young lady with a fortune of 3000 pounds sterling." So announced the *Massachusetts Spy* of September 30, declaring further that the wedding was at Salem. The announcement in the *Essex Gazette* of September 28 states no less fully, and it is highly probable, if not quite certain, judging from the marriage certificate, now in the possession of the family, that the ceremony took place at Hampton Falls. Six children were born from this union, the youngest being Frederick William Paine, for many years a devoted and honored member of this Society; and his son, Rev. George Sturgis Paine, continues the family in useful membership.

William Lincoln, in his History of Worcester, stated that "for the purpose of facilitating the negotiations of his business (the pharmacy,) abroad, and of perfecting his medical education, Dr. Paine visited Europe, long before the breaking out of hostilities." It is difficult to give exact statements or fix dates relating to this period of his absence, but it is quite likely that the family tradition correctly attributes to Hon. James Putnam and Dr. Paine the co-authorship of the famous "Protest" signed by the physicians of Worcester; and we know that at a meeting held in Worcester August 24, 1774, it was determined as it is highly needful that those of the signers
~~may have made~~ satisfaction as aforesaid, should be

known in future, it is therefore necessary that their names should be inserted as follows, viz. :

James Putnam.
William Paine.

Isaac Moore.
John Walker."

Joshua Johnson.

A week later, August 31, 1774, the Convention of the Committees of Correspondence for the County of Worcester, "in County Congress assembled," "at the house of Mrs. Mary Sterns in Worcester," "Voted to postpone the consideration of the petition of Dr. William Paine, respecting the establishment of a hospital for the small pox, to the adjournment of this meeting." No further action appears to have been taken concerning the petition. Smallpox was then quite prevalent in the State, and this was not Dr. Paine's first attempt to diminish its ravages; the record of a Town Meeting in Worcester, March 7, 1774, informs us that "on the Eleventh Article the Question was put whither the Town would allow Doct. William Paine to Erect a Hospital for Inoculation in Said Town, and it Passed in the Negative."

Not long after September 1, 1774, Dr. Paine sailed for England, and it is probable that the following winter was passed in the study of medicine. The first number of the *Massachusetts Spy* which was issued in Worcester bears the date of May 3, 1775 and the copy in our Library has upon it the certificate of Isaiah Thomas that it is the first thing printed in Worcester. It contains this brief item: "Messrs. Chandler and Paine of this town are arrived at Salem from London." It will be remembered that the fight at Lexington had occurred but a few weeks before; and while there was apparently no legal impediment to his return to Worcester, it was doubtless a very prudent decision of Dr. Paine not to make the attempt. His feeling of personal loyalty to the English government was too strong to allow him even to appear to yield to the revolutionary spirit then entirely dominating his native town, and he wisely and soon returned to England.

His study of medicine there must have been pursued with unusual zeal and success, for in November, 1775, he received from Marischal College, Aberdeen, the degree of M.D. This was certainly an extraordinary recompense for not more than nine months of attendance, considering the high attainments usually demanded for this degree, which is much above the diplomas obtained by the great majority of English and Scotch practitioners. But the handsomely engrossed parchment is now in our Library, bearing the signatures of the officers, and plainly showing where the seal was once attached.

Soon after obtaining this distinction, he received an appointment as "Apothecary to the English forces in America, and served in Rhode Island and New York till [January] 1781, when he returned to England in company with his patient, Lord Winchelsea."¹ Lincoln's History states that he sailed with Lord Winchelsea and family for England, but the vessel being driven out of its course, they landed at Lisbon. It seems certain that Dr. Paine passed several months on the continent as physician attending this noble family. While in England, in 1782, he is said to have been made Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of London.²

October 23, 1782, he was commissioned "Physician to His Majesty's Hospitals within the district of North America commanded by Sir Guy Carleton," and he reported for duty at Halifax, N. S. A letter addressed to him there, dated New York, 26th October, 1782, is found among the Paine papers deposited in our Library by our associate, Rev. George S. Paine. This is from Dr. J. Mervin Nooth, Supt. General, and begins: "Sir, I have herewith sent you the Instructions which are usually given to Hospital officers on detach^d Service, Etc." This plainly marks the beginning of Dr. Paine's employment in this capacity. It is evident that at first he was not pleasantly received by

¹ Paine General., p. 58.

² *Ibid.*

the General Commanding in Halifax. He carefully preserved copies of his letters to Dr. Nooth at this period, and certain of them reveal a capacity for honest indignation under unjust treatment: "General Paterson was not pleased at my being sent here, and affected to be much surprised at the Instructions I had the honor to receive from you. He added they precluded him from Employing me if it was necessary. There is no reasoning with a *great man*, who is determined to misconstrue everything. I made my bow and retired. * * * My situation here has been very unpleasant, and it has required my utmost exertions to prevent offending. * * * I shall patiently wait for your final orders; whatever you direct shall be attentively executed." Again: "I this day came to a very serious explanation concerning my Situation with M. G. Paterson, in consequence of which he directed me to be put in orders. It is impossible for me to recapitulate what passed between us on this occasion, for I very candidly confess to you I was in such a *Passion* as made me forget the Respect which was due to him as my commanding officer. But the most Extra' part of this business was that he told me that if I had shown him my Commission when I first came here instead of Mr. Nooth's Papers, I should have been immediately put in Orders. How ridiculous!"

Presently matters ran more smoothly, and for about a year Dr. Paine was active in the management of hospitals, in the purchasing of stores and, to a lesser degree, in the care of sick and wounded soldiers. About the end of October, 1783, these duties ceased, owing to the withdrawal of troops, and he was placed on half-pay, retaining his rank. Letters which have been preserved show clearly that during this year at Halifax he had won the respect, friendship and confidence not only of his immediate medical superior, Dr. Nooth, but also of Lord Wentworth, Governor of the Province, who wrote from Halifax, May

18, 1786, "Mrs W. is somewhat better than when I wrote you last, but expects from your advice only to establish any health."

"In the summer of 1784 Dr. Paine took possession of La Tête, an island in Passamaquoddy Bay, granted him by the English government for his services in the war."¹ He remained there less than a year and then made his residence in St. John, N. B., where he took up the practice of his profession. He appears to have been hopeful of managing his island profitably, and to have found the climate, *etc.*, agreeable; but the chief cause of the removal was the protest of his wife that the children could not receive a proper education in that isolated spot. At the time of leaving the island there were three children living, aged eleven, six, and two respectively.

There is abundant evidence of the high estimate placed on his character and ability in the numerous offices which he held during his residence in New Brunswick. "He was elected member of the Assembly of New Brunswick from the county of Charlotte, and was appointed Clerk of the House." "He was commissioned as a justice for the county of Sunbury."² In October, 1785, he was commissioned by Sir John Wentworth as Principal Deputy Surveyor of Woods in the Province of New Brunswick, with the special duty of registering "such white pine trees as may be now or hereafter fit for the use of the Royal Navy."

July 29, 1786, he wrote to a friend, Mr. John Brown: "I do a great deal of Business in my Profession but I get very little for it. The truth is we are all very poor, and the most industrious and economical gets only a bare subsistence. However it will soon be better as the Province is daily filling with stock of all kinds."

Early in 1787 Dr. Paine made application for leave to visit and reside in New England while remaining on half-pay, and a permit to that effect was issued by the War

¹ Paine Geneal., p. 77.

² *Ibid.*

Office, May 5, 1787, and August 2 following, a similar order was signed in Fredericton, N. B., by Tho^d. Carleton. In the Paine Genealogy (p. 77), the statement is made that he returned to New England because the act of banishment had been repealed, but, so far as I can gather, that act was in force for many years later; probably it was understood that it would not be enforced.

In Salem he devoted himself to the practice of medicine, and no doubt he was received with special favor in the town where he had been well known as student and, consequently, companion and assistant to the justly famous Dr. Holyoke, and where his wife had spent her early life. He did not neglect other means of adding to his income. Lincoln, in his History of Worcester, speaks of him as "having good professional business and occasionally writing marine policies" in Salem; while his letters to his brother Nathaniel show that he was interested rather deeply in business connected with sugar, perhaps a refinery.

July 17, 1793, his father, Timothy Paine, died, and he soon removed to Worcester, and for the remaining forty years of his life he resided in the paternal mansion on Lincoln street, which is now owned, though not occupied, by his grandson, Rev. George S. Paine. His father's property was large, and by will was equitably divided among the heirs, each of the children inheriting a share of the farm, which with the homestead covered 1230 acres.

In September, 1793, he bought the shares of his brothers and sisters for the sum of 2000 pounds sterling, but the deeds were given to Nathaniel Paine in trust for William.

The year 1812 was a critical one, bringing a most important question for Dr. Paine's decision, for war arose between Great Britain and the United States, and he was still a half-pay officer in His Majesty's service. Tradition tells us that he was notified to report for active service, and that he determined to take his stand with the country in which he was born and was now living, and that therefore

he resigned from the British service. This is no doubt correct, though no documents have been found here to establish it directly; but in June, 1812, he certainly petitioned the Legislature "for its consent to his being naturalized as a Citizen of the United States," and it was resolved * * * "that whenever the said William Paine shall bring himself within the provisions of the several statutes of the United States, which establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and shall make due application to any Court of Record to be admitted a citizen of the same, the Legislature of this Commonwealth doth hereby consent thereto." This may have ended Dr. Paine's action in this laudable direction. I have not been able to find any court record or any other evidence of his becoming a citizen, except that on May 11, 1809, Nathaniel Paine transferred to William the real estate which he had been holding in trust since 1793; and at a later date deeds were given by William in his own name. Nathaniel Paine was an eminent lawyer, judge of probate for many years, and it is impossible to believe that he would have assisted or allowed his brother to take any doubtful action regarding the tenure of land; but all the records appear to show that at this time, and even later, William Paine was a proscribed alien, by the unrepealed law of 1784 as well as other statutes.

It was in 1812 that the American Antiquarian Society was founded, and William Paine was one of the petitioners for its incorporation. The sequel is best told in the words of the manuscript record of the first meeting, and I transcribe the record in full because, for some unknown reason, it has never appeared in print, and is scarcely alluded to in the "Account" by Isaiah Thomas, which is the first publication of the Society. Because of the omission of the report of the first meeting an error has naturally crept into the various accounts of Dr. Paine's original relation to this Society.

At a meeting of the American Antiquarian Society at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, on Thursday, Nov. 19th [1812], convened agreeably to the Act of Incorporation.

Present:

Isaiah Thomas, Esq'	Rev. T. M. Harris,
Rev. J. T. Kirkland, D.D.	Benjn Russell, Esq.
Edward Bangs, Esq'	Mr. E. T. Andrews,
Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D.	Doct. Redford Webster,
Prof. Wm D. Peck,	Isaiah Thomas, Jr.

Isaiah Thomas was appointed Chairman of the meeting and Rev. Mr. Harris Secretary.

Votes were brought in for a President of the Society and Isaiah Thomas, Esq. was chosen. Prof. Wm D. Peck was chosen Vice President, the Rev. T. M. Harris corresponding Secretary, and Saml M. Burnside, Esq., recording Secy.

Voted, that the President, Judge Bangs, Dr. Bancroft, Timothy Bigelow, Esq. and Professor Peck be a Committee to draw up regulations and bye laws for the Society and be requested to report them the next meeting.

Voted, that the President, Vice President, Corresponding Secretary and Recording Secretary be Counsellors till the report of the Committee.

Voted, that whereas the name of Doct. Wm Paine of Worcester, who was one of the petitioners for the incorporation of this Society, has been, by some accident, omitted in forming the bill, that he be now regularly admitted a member.

The Society then Voted that a nomination should be made of persons to be admitted as members under the regulations to be reported by the Committee, and the following were named, viz—

Col. George Gibbs of Boston,	nominated by	Maj. Russell
Hon. Oliver Flske of Worcester,	" "	Rev. Mr. Harris
Rev. Joseph McKean of Cambridge	} " "	I. Thomas, Esq.
Dr. John Green of Worcester		
Rev. Wm Bentley of Salem	" "	Judge Bangs
Hon. Judge Davis of Boston	" "	Dr. Kirkland
Rev. Wm Jenks of Bath	" "	Major Russell
Rev. Dr. Holmes of Cambridge	" "	Professor Peck
Rev. Dr. Morse of Charlestown	" "	Mr. Andrews.

Then Voted to adjourn this meeting to the first Wednesday in February next, to meet at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston at 3 o'clock, P. M.

Attest, THADDEUS M. HARRIS, Secretary.

A true copy of the proceedings of the first meeting as made by the Secy, the Rev^d Mr. Harris.

Attest, S. M. BURNSIDE,

Rec. Secy.

It is quite possible that Dr. Paine's name was omitted from the act of incorporation because of the recent calling

of the attention of the Legislature to the fact that he was not an American citizen.

In October, 1813, the regulations and by-laws came into effect, and two Vice-Presidents were elected—Prof. Peck and Dr. Paine.

At the anniversary meeting in 1815 Dr. Paine made a formal address, which was published by the Society. One brief extract has a particular interest in this connection :

"Less necessary is it to place before you the many signal favors, from the hand of Providence, during the revolutionary war with Great Britain. Baffled and discouraged in her scheme of subjugation, she proffered and we accepted, the rich blessings of peace on the basis of national independence. You will remember, or your fathers have told you of the names, the trials, and the sufferings of those days, and the joys, the congratulations, and the devout gratitude, with which peace was received."

Dr. Paine's name stands at the head of the first committee on ways and means for erecting an edifice for deposits; it appears also in the committee on publishing in 1819, and in the first printed list of donors of books to the Society. Many of the books forming his professional library were given to this Society after his death, and are now in the same alcove with books which had belonged to Isaiah Thomas, and others. They are of considerable value, being good copies of the best medical works of that period.

He was made member of many societies besides those already named. As early as 1790 he was elected an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and, considering the circumstances, this may be accepted as proof of his high position as a medical practitioner. He was also member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Linnean Society of Boston, and of the Essex Historical Society; and, according to the account in the Paine Genealogy, he was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen.

Except the address to this Society in 1815, I have found no printed evidence of his literary power; but the mass of his correspondence which has been piously preserved, reveals a ready and skilful command of language. His own copy of a letter to a medical friend in New Brunswick, contains a most graphic account of an epidemic of influenza in Salem in 1789. It is well worth publication as a part of medical history, and it incidentally reveals his powers of accurate observation and clear description. [See appendix.]

His church affiliation was, by force of circumstances, rather varied. He was originally trained in the Calvinistic creed of the original parish in his native town; when in the English army he attended the services of the Episcopal or English Church, and later he was warden of Trinity Church, St. John, N. B.; in Salem, also, he attended the Episcopal Church; but when he finally took up his residence in Worcester, he joined the Second Parish (then Arminian, now Unitarian), of which Dr. Aaron Bancroft was the first minister.

Of his later life in Worcester there is but little to be chronicled. He occupied the old paternal mansion on Lincoln street in a quiet, very dignified and almost luxurious manner, as befitted an honored country gentleman. There are still a few persons living who can recall his later years, when he used to start out every morning between nine and ten o'clock in his well-known chaise to make a round of calls. It is believed that most of these were purely friendly visits among the relatives and connections who then made up the greater part of the well-to-do inhabitants of the town, and that only rarely was any account presented. One who well remembers him states that he was of medium height and of slight figure; his white hair was brushed back from his head, made into a cue and bound with black ribbon, with a bow at the end.

Even at the age of eighty his complexion remained clear and delicate. At this time he was a widower, living with his married son, Frederick William, and having no household responsibilities.

His death occurred on March 19, 1833, at the ripe age of 83. It is probably owing simply to the different customs prevailing seventy years ago that no eulogy or funeral sermon has been found, nothing beyond the bare death notice in the newspaper. It does not seem to be recorded that this Society, which was indebted to him in so many ways, took any action to express its sense of the loss of his companionship and aid.

Four likenesses of him are preserved in the family: one representing him as a young man in the court dress of a medical officer, as he was presented to King George III. and Queen Charlotte, no doubt in 1782; a miniature, painted at a later date; a full-size portrait, painted by Harding, in his later life; and a silhouette likeness cut in paper.

We cannot study the records of this long, active and eventful life without being convinced that William Paine was a man of high character and deep and strong convictions; of keen intellect, well stored with the fruits of habitual observation, reflection and study; that he was unusually well qualified as a physician, inspiring the confidence, respect and affection of his patients; but, I think, we must also be struck by his aptitude for business affairs. From the beginning of his practice, when he started the first pharmacy in Worcester County, through his period of active service in the English army, during his life in the Provinces, and later, in Salem and in Worcester, we find him always active and prominent in business affairs; and though he was, perhaps, of rather sanguine temperament, he was usually successful in these enterprises.

Strongly conservative and aristocratic by nature, it was

natural that he should take the side of established authority during the strife of the Revolution, and that he should not have allowed hardship or exile to change his views. When peace was definitely established it was equally natural and quite proper that he should prefer to live among his kindred. And when, in 1812, he was forced to make choice between the English government, whose pay he had been receiving for twenty-five years, and the Republic which had sheltered him among his kindred and friends for the same quarter of a century, the fact that he took his stand with his home simply shows that his original convictions had not hardened into obstinacy, and that reason and good sense were still, as ever, the guides that he preferred to trust.

APPENDIX.

Copy of letter from Dr. William Paine to a "medical friend in N. B."—

Salem, January the 8th, 1790.

Dear Sir,

* * * I shall attempt to give you a concise History of the Influenza as it appeared at Salem in the M^o of Nov^r and December, and prevailed more generally than I ever knew any epidemic. The Autumn was very wet, and the Weather very changeable, and I do not recollect a Season in America so rainy as the last. The Weather in general was unusually warm. * * *

This Disease made its first appearance at Salem on the 29th of October, and by the 15th of Nov^r became very General. At this Time Cough became very frequent attended with Catarrhal Symptoms, and so many were seized with it that it obtained with us the Name of the Washington Cold, as the President at that time made his tour through the several Northern States, and the People were supposed to have caught cold by being much exposed either in walking in Procession, or by being Spectators of them as the weather was cold and rainy. Like contagion it seemed to spread amongst all ranks and conditions and spared neither age nor sex, yet it was observed that children were less liable to be affected with this Epidemic than adults. It was computed that two thirds of the Inhabitants of Salem were affected nearly together. The Universality of this Epidemic was beyond Example, yet the Bills of Mortality were not increased. Its violence lasted about five weeks.

* * *

The attack with us was in general very sudden, and attended with the Symptoms that usually precede Fever, such as Shivering, heat, Pain in the Back and Limbs, stitches in the Muscles serving to respiration: and attended with a discharge from the Eyes and Nose of acrid Lymph, and in some Instances it appeared to corrode the Part it flowed over; sneezing, hoarseness and a severe Cough which threw up great quantities of Mucus. The Taste and Smell were much impaired. Few were free from Fever, yet I seldom heard a Patient complain of Thirst, but I saw many attended with some Symptoms similar to what we meet with in the Nervous or [or?] Slow Fever, such as great anxiety, amazing dejection of Spirits, Pain and Giddiness in the Head, a loathing of Food and a white Tongue, lassitude and restlessness, much more than could be conceived of from the Degree of the other Symptoms. Headache and a sense of stricture in the Forehead were frequent, but I saw but two Patients that complained of a soreness about the Cheek Bones under the Muscles, which was particularly noticed by Sir George Baker when this Epidemic prevailed in England 1783. Many complained of a sore throat, but altho' I inspected several Patients with this Complaint I only saw two that had any ulceration.

It was rare to see two Patients with Symptoms exactly similar. The Skin was in general dry in those Persons that were immediately under my care. Several were seized with vomitings and almost all were costive from the beginning of the Complaint. In some Instances the Patient was seized with a spontaneous purging. This was my own case. I was waked in the Night with severe Pains in my Bowels, and in the space of six Hours had as many as eight stools. The discharge was extremely hot and as yellow as an Orange, attended with a violent Tenesmus. I drank a wineglass of the spirituous Tincture of Rhubarb, and at Night took an anodyne draught that perfectly relieved me; and next day I had nothing to combat with but extreme Weakness. I now supposed that I should not again be visited by this Epidemic; but I was disappointed for six days afterwards I had severe Rigors, violent Pain in my Head, Breast and back, my eyes were sore and my pulse beat 120 in a Minute, but were by no means full or tense. My skin was very dry attended with a tickling cough and I expectorated with difficulty. My debility was so great that I felt as if I had been ill for a Month with some severe indisposition. The violence of these Symptoms abated in a few Days by keeping within Doors very warm, using Squill Pills and Ipecac with mild Opiates at Night, diluting freely and abstaining entirely from animal Food, but it was nearly six Weeks before I recovered my usual Strength.

SOME FACTS ABOUT JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT.

BY GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP.

A CREW of English sailors, in the midsummer of the year 1497, brought their little craft up the Severn and alongside one of the old Bristol wharves. In reply to the greetings of those who welcomed them home, they announced that they had sailed through shoals of countless fish to a land on the further side of the North Atlantic.¹ Ten months later their commander, the Italian merchant adventurer John Cabot, sailed away again from these same Bristol wharves, in charge of five ships carrying men and goods suitable for the exploration and settlement of the western lands he had visited a year before. Three or four years after this, in 1502, an expedition was fitted out by some Bristol merchants and sent to the new world. Almost nothing is known about this adventure,—as to why it was projected, its intended destination, or what came of it; but it is a reasonable surmise that the expedition was sent to search for some traces of the fleet which John Cabot had led

¹ Al ditto messer Zoanne.... li compagni chi sono quasi tutti inglesi, et da Bristo.... et affermano che quello mare è coperto de pessi li quali se prendenno non solo cum la rete, ma cum le ciste, essendoli alligato uno saxo ad ciò che la cista se impozi in laqua, et questo io ho oldito narrare al dicto messer Zoanne. Et ditti Inglesi suoi compagni dicono che portaranno tanti pessi che questo regno non haverà più bisogno de Islanda, del quale paese vene una grandissima mercantia de pessi che si chiamanno stochfissi. From the second dispatch regarding Cabot sent by Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan, dated from London, 18 December, 1497, as printed in HARRISSE, *J. et S. Cabot*, pp. 324, 325. It has frequently been translated into English, and may be found in most modern books about the Cabots. There is repeated evidence of the impression made upon the earliest English visitors by the vast shoals of fish which frequented the western Atlantic from Cape Cod to Labrador. See note *post*, p. 425. The descriptions in Peter Martyr, Ramusio, and even in the legends to the Cabot 1544 map, were probably derived from the experiences of voyages subsequent to this one of 1497.

westward in 1498, and from which no news had then, nor has since, been received.¹

Eighty years later, in 1580-84, Dr. John Dee and Richard Hakluyt undertook to stir up the English people,

¹ The statement in the contemporary *Cronicon regum Angliae*, that the fleet of 1498 "departed from the West Cuntrey in the begynnyng of Somer, but to this present moneth came nevyr knowlege of their exployt," is as true now as when it was first written. Information in regard to the voyage of 1502 or 1503 consists at present of little besides the charters which authorized the undertaking. Letters patent were granted by Henry VII., dated 19 March, 1501-2, to three Bristol merchants—Ward, Ashehurst and Thomas—and three Portuguese from the Azores, authorizing them in the usual terms to venture whithersoever they pleased: plenam ac liberam auctoritatem, facultatem et potestatem committimus navigandi et se transferendi ad omnes partes, regiones et fines Maris Orientalis, Occidentalis, Australis, Borealis et Septentrionalis.... ad inveniendum, recuperandum, discoperiendum et investigandum Insulas, patrias, Regiones sive provincias quas-cunque Gentilium et Infidelium in quacunque Mundi parte positas quæ Christianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerunt et in præsentis sunt incognita. In the similar grant to John Cabot and his three sons, dated 5 March, 1496-6, they are given authority: navigandi ad omnes partes, regiones et sinus maris Orientalis, occidentalis et Septentrionalis....etc. Frequent attention has been called to the probably significant omission in the charter of 1496 of permission to explore towards the south, the region in which Spain had already found the way to her new world empire. See the text, carefully transliterated from the original manuscript, in WEARE, *Cabot's Discovery*, pp. 96-97. In the draft of the charter of 1501-2 occurs the curious passage, the meaning of which has been often discussed, securing to the Anglo-Portuguese syndicate possession in whatever they might discover: "Et quod nullus... eos eorum aliquem de et super possessione et titulo suis.... aliqualliter contra voluntatem suam expellat quovis modo seu aliquis extraneus aut aliqui extranei virtute aut colore alicujus concessionis nostræ sibi Magno Sigillo Nostro per antea facta." See BIDDLE, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 318, where this charter was first printed. It is a reasonable supposition that the strangers referred to, who had previously received grants, were the Cabot family.

The evidence that a voyage was made in accordance with this patent of 1502 consists of an entry, under date 1502, in FABYAN'S *Chronicle*, as quoted by STOW, *Chronicle*, 1580 edition, p. 875: "Thys yeaere were brought vnto the Kyng three men taken in the new founde Ilands, by Sebastian Gabato, before named in Anno 1498 [misprinted for 1496], these men were clothed in Beastes skynnes, and eate raw Flesh, but spake such a language as no man could vnderstand them".... This evidence is apparently confirmed by the fact that, on 9 December, 1502, a second charter was issued to the same persons, with the addition of another Bristol merchant, Hugh Elliott. The venturers returned about the middle of September, for Fernandez and Gonsalvez received pensions from the English crown by a grant dated 26 September, 1502. The entries in the Privy Purse expenses record payments on 24 September, 1502, "to the merchants of Bristol that have been in the New-found-land, £20"; and on 7 January, 1502-3, "to men of Bristol that found the Isle, £5." There is also a warrant, dated 6 December, 1503, for the payment of the pension of £10 yearly to each granted in September, 1502, to Fernandez and Gonsalvez, or Guidisalvus as his name was now spelt, "in consideration of the true service they have done to us to our singular pleasure as captains unto the New Found Land." See BEAZLEY, *Cabot*, pp. 118-122. Mr. Beazley overlooks the obvious possibility that the young Sebastian Cabot may very likely have accompanied Fernandez or Gonsalvez, in some minor station. There is nothing improbable in the statement of Fabyan that Sebastian was selected to present the American natives to the King.

and especially England's Virgin Queen, to take an interest and a share in the exploitation of America. As the basis of all their arguments, after the obvious opportunities for a profitable adventure, they set forth the fact that the northern portions of the continent belonged to England by right, because they had been discovered by John Cabot.¹ Three hundred years after this, in 1889, one of the Justices on the bench of the Superior Court of the City of New York ordered the Manhattan Elevated Railroad Company to pay heavy damages for the depreciation in the value of property along its lines on the Bowery, because John Cabot brought the English civil law to this part of the world before the arrival of Henry Hudson, in the hold of whose vessel lurked the Dutch Roman Law.²

¹ Dr. Dee's map, which was prepared, apparently, for the eye of the queen, is in the British Museum. The only reproduction of which I am aware is a photographic copy, the size of the original, made for Mr. Fred W. Lucas of London, and very generously placed by him at my disposal. On the back of the map is written: "A brief Remembrance of sundry forein Regions, Discovered, inhabited, and partly Conquered by the Subjects of this Brytish Monarchie." Two of the reasons justifying the British claim are: "2. Circa an. 1494. Mr Robert Thorn his father, and Mr Eliot of Bristow discovered Newfownd Land.... 4. Circa an. 1497. Sebastian Caboto, sent by King Henry the seventh did Discover the Newfownd Land, so far along and about the Coasts next to Laborador tyll he came to the Latitude of .67½. And styll fownd the Seas open before him." A short time before writing this, on 28 November, 1577, according to his Diary, which was printed by the Camden Society in 1842, Dr. Dee "Spake with the Quene hora quinta.... declared to the Quene her title to Greenland, Estotiland, and Friseland."

Hakluyt's "particuler discourse concerning.... Westerner discoveries" was written in 1584, "at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Mr Walter Raghly now Knight." It was not printed until 1877, when Dr. Leonard Woods and Charles Deane edited it for the Maine Historical Society. In the third chapter, p. 19, Hakluyt wrote that "the contries therefore of America where unto we have just title, as beinge firste discovered by Sebastian Gabote, at the coste of that prudent prince Kinge Henry the Seaventh." Mr. Deane also notes, on p. 194, that "in Chapter XVIII of this Discourse, Hakluyt examines the title of England to this territory, and, as will be seen, relies principally on the discovery by the Cabots." The chapter in question contains an extract from Ramusio, which refers to Cabot's discovery of the Northwest passage. Another instance is referred to in the following note.

² The decision of Justice C. H. Truax in the case of *Mortimer et al. v. New York Elevated Railroad Company et al.*, which was recalled to my notice by Dr. K. C. Babcock of the University of California, is in the *Reports of Cases in the Superior Court of the City of New York*.—New York, 1890, lvi. (*Jones and Spencer*, xxv.) 259-271. It appears that the counsel for the Elevated companies had been in the habit of pleading, in suits for damages brought by owners of property along the lines of the Elevated structure, that prior to 1664 the land of the Bowery street was owned absolutely in fee by the Dutch government of Manhattan island. It would seem as if the court made up its mind to produce a decision which should

In the summer of 1497, when John Cabot came back from his successful westward voyage, there were several Italian and Spanish gentlemen, diplomatic agents and active, intelligent merchants, residing in England. These gentlemen heard the news of the town, and they promptly despatched to their masters, patrons and brethren, letters containing long accounts of the stories which were circulating in regard to the new discovery, and of their efforts to learn the truth in regard thereto. These letters were filed away in due course in the public and private archives at Seville, Venice and Milan, where they awaited the curious researches of modern historical investigators.¹

John Cabot disappeared from sight in 1498, but he left behind him a son, Sebastian, who talked freely, and perhaps not always discreetly, about his own and his father's exploits. The men who knew Sebastian personally—

put an end to this very bothersome argument. Judge Truax stated that "the English always claimed this portion of North America by right of prior discovery of this country by John and Sebastian Cabot.... The English claimed, and began to claim shortly after this time, that the Cabots had visited the whole coast from Florida up to Labrador": the cited authority being Edward Hayes' account of Gilbert's voyage, written in 1583 and copied from Hakluyt in Payne; *Elizabethan Seamen*. "In 1498 Sebastian Cabot sailed westward until he came to what is now Newfoundland. From there he proceeded to the mainland, made several landings, dealt with the natives, and followed the coast southward, probably as far as Chesapeake Bay." Bancroft, Valentine's *History of New York*, and Harris's, *Voyages*, 1705. Supplementary authorities cited are Lossing's *Encyclopedia*, Roberts in the American Commonwealth Series, Fernow in the *Narrative and Critical History*, Mr. Gerard in his *Titles to Real Estate*, and the Supreme Court of the United States in *Martin v. Waddell*, 16 Peters, 408.

¹ It is most unlikely that the few letters which have been brought to light during the last fifty years are all that were written about the Cabot discovery in the autumn of 1497. Of the letters now known, that of Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers in Venice, dated in London, 23 August, 1497, was first printed, in Italian, in 1837, and in English in 1856; the dispatch of Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan, dated 24 August, 1497, was first printed in English in 1864, and in Italian, said to be translated from the earlier English version, in 1880; another dispatch from Soncino to Milan, dated 18 December, 1497, was printed in Italian in 1866, and translated into English by Professor Nash, for Winsor's, *Narrative and Critical History*, in 1884; a report by Pedro de Ayala to the Spanish government, dated 25 July, 1498, together with the covering dispatch by Ayala's superior, Ruy Gonzales de Puebla, was first deciphered and turned into English in 1862, and a Spanish text, presumably worked out from the original cipher dispatch, was printed in 1882; there is record of an earlier dispatch from Gonzales de Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella, dated 21 January, 1496, in which he mentioned Cabot, but this document has not yet been found.

Peter Martyr of Angleria, Francisco Gomara, Giovanni Ramusio and Richard Eden—recorded in their published volumes the impressions which they received from their conversations with him. Some of these conversations, we have reason to suspect, were held over the nuts and raisins of a good dinner; others took place, we know, in the course of social chat at a house party in Northern Italy; still others we may fancy on the comfortable benches of some cheery Spanish tap-room.¹ A certain amount of

¹ Raimondo di Soncino's delightful account, at the end of his December, 1497, letter, recounting what he had found out about John Cabot's plans, is printed in most books about Cabot. He tells of the ten and twelve course dinners, keeping him at table three hours at a stretch, which he was obliged to endure in order to find out what his master wished to know. The tantalizing "conversation with an anonymous guest at the house of Hieronimo Fracastor" at Caphi near Verona, is in the first volume of Ramusio's Collection of Voyages, ll. 414 D - 415 A. It has been discussed more elaborately, and with less appreciation of the actual value of the information afforded, than any other single piece of Cabotian literature. As I have said in my *Cabot Bibliography*, p. 85; the style in which this conversation is recorded, the apparently direct personal intercourse between the several communicants of the information, the use of the rhetorical present tense which seems to give the exact words used by Cabot, the evident respectability and authority of the unnamed gentleman, and even the ostentatious disavowal of any pretensions to exact recollection—all these tend to obscure the absolute unreliability of the entire passage. The length of time that had elapsed, the absence of anything that might have fixed the specific details clearly in the memory, the very eminence of individuals which has so often been held to relieve them from the necessity of detailed exactness, the essential levity of the occasion when Ramusio received the information, all these considerations need to be kept clearly in mind, together with the most important fact of all, that Cabot, the Mantuan gentleman, and Ramusio, were each, on every occasion when the information was transmitted, chiefly interested in something—the best way to reach the Spice Lands from Europe—which had only the slightest connection with the details about Sebastian's birth-place, his share in the voyage of 1497, and the other Cabotian questions over which modern historical controversies have raged.

Another glimpse of social life, on the outskirts of the Spanish Court, is afforded by Gaspar Contarini's letters to the Council of Ten at Venice, written in 1522 and 1523, in which he tells of trying to find out whether Sebastian Cabot was in attendance on the court at Valladolid, and where he was living, and of Cabot's subsequent call upon him, while he was at dinner on Christmas Eve. Contarini's letters have been translated into English by Sir Clements Markham, for the Hakluyt Society, and may be consulted in Mr. Raymond Beazley's Cabot volume in the series of "Builders of Greater Britain."

Ramusio corresponded with Sebastian Cabot in regard to certain geographical questions, and also, in all probability, about some property said to have been left by Cabot's mother, the settlement of which was entrusted by the Venetian Council of Ten to Ramusio (see note *post*, p. 420). Peter Martyr (see note 1 *post*, p. 424), and Gomara were both engaged in duties about the Spanish Court for several years when Cabot was in the Spanish service. All of Eden's books contain evidence of his intimate acquaintance with the "woorthy owlde man yet lyuing Sebastian Cabote," at whose deathbed he attended.

confusion resulted in the subsequent recollections.¹ Toward the end of the fifteenth century, Richard Hakluyt noticed this lack of agreement in the published sources of information about Cabot, and when he set about the preparation of his great *Collection of Voyages*, one of his first tasks was an attempt to straighten out these contradictory narratives. He was misled into several erroneous statements at first, but in the end he succeeded in finding out very nearly what we now recognize as the truth in regard to the English discovery of America. The important facts are stated by Hakluyt, in nearly every instance correctly.² For a hundred and fifty years there was no

¹ The best illustration of this confusion is in Ramusio's report of the conversation at Caphi. Ramusio wrote that his informant quoted Sebastian as saying that his father, John Cabot, died about the time that the English court began to discuss the news of Columbus's discovery, and that as he felt a desire to achieve something equally great, he induced Henry VII. to furnish him with two small ships, with which in the early summer of 1496, he followed the American coast northward to 56° where it turned toward the east, and that he thence turned back and sailed down the coast as far as Florida. Returning to England, he found the country in the throes of civil rebellion and war with Scotland, so that he offered his services to Ferdinand and Isabella, who sent him on a voyage of discovery to the coast of Brazil. It is supposed that this last sentence contains references to Perkin Warbeck's rebellion in June, 1497; to the truce with James IV. of Scotland in September of the same year; to Sebastian's arctic expedition of 1509; to his employment by Ferdinand of Spain, Isabella having died in 1504, in 1512; and his voyage to La Plata in 1526. It is comparatively easy to understand how this confusion arose; it is far more difficult to understand how men of considerable historical reputations have convinced themselves that this narrative is an important source whence they might derive exact and accurate information.

² In his *Divers Voyages*, imprinted at London in 1582, Hakluyt published the Letters Patent of 5 March, 1496-6 (misprinted 1594 in the side-note to the English translation); the "note out of Fabyan" referring correctly to the 1496 voyage and to the three savages presented to the King in 1502; and Ramusio's abstract of a letter from Sebastian Cabot regarding his voyage to 67½° north; together with the important information that Cabot's papers were then extant in the possession of William Worthington. In addition to these documents and extracts, he printed in the *Principall Navigations* of 1589 an abstract of the patent granted by the King in February, 1498, the text of which was not recovered until Biddle published it in 1831, thereby proving the probability that there was a Cabot voyage immediately following the discovery; an extract from the Cabot map, giving the date 1494 for the discovery; the conversation with Ramusio's anonymous gentleman; the accounts of Cabot's Arctic Voyage, written by Peter Martyr and Gomara; and the account of the voyage of Cabot and Pert in 1516. In the "note out of Fabyan," the text is corrected by inserting the name of John Cabot as the leader of the expedition, although in this and also in the enlarged edition of 1600, the name of Sebastian is carelessly retained in the heading. These passages are all reprinted in the third volume of the *Voyages*, published in 1600, with the correction of the date to 1497 in the extract from the Cabot 1544 map. Hakluyt did not pretend to

occasion to question the accuracy of the facts as placed on record by Hakluyt.

In 1753, the British Commissioners appointed to confer with the French representatives, in accordance with the Treaty of Utrecht, drew up a plain, straightforward statement of facts upon which, by the right of discovery, England based her claim to North American territory. They set out, clearly and without thought of guile, so far as can be judged, the facts in regard to the discovery made by John Cabot in 1497. Their report was based merely, and entirely, upon Hakluyt and the authors whom Hakluyt had used. The facts as given in this report are the facts which, after another century and a half of prolonged interest in Cabotian problems, are now thought to be the actual truth as to John Cabot's achievements. A careful reëxamination of the report reveals almost nothing which has since been proven to be untrue in connection with the discovery of 1497. In reply to this Memoir, however, the French Commissioners, in 1757, published some Remarks, in the form of a commentary, which are a model of diplomatic argumentation and logical subtleties. Making use of all the devices of argumentation and sophistical logic, the Frenchmen pointed out that there are conflicting statements in regard to what John Cabot actually accomplished. They observed that the various early treatises do not always agree in the date of the discovery. They made much of the fact that there is confusion in some of the narratives in assigning the credit for the successful voyage to John or to Sebastian. In brief, the French negotiators undertook to depreciate the value and the effect of the English argument. They succeeded, as Frenchmen are apt to succeed, and the reader of their commentary finishes it with a strong im-

provide a connected narrative in any of his publications, but he merely set forth the sources of information as he found them, editing them so as to assist the reader, and, as will be seen in a subsequent note, *post.*, p. 424, correcting errors which seemed to him obvious.

pression that everything is exactly the reverse of what the Englishmen had said it was.¹

The work of the French diplomats of 1757 naturally met with approval on the continent. French historical

¹ Three volumes of the *Mémoires des Commissaires Sur les Possessions & les droits respectifs des deux Couronnes en Amérique* were printed in 1755, and, in several editions, are frequently met with. The fourth volume, the Cabotian interest of which was brought to my attention by Mr. Henry N. Stevens of London, was published in 1757, and is found only in the original official French quarto edition. This volume contains the "Second Mémoire des commissaires Anglois. Sur les Limites de l'Acadie, Du 23 Janvier, 1753. Avec Les Observations des Commissaires du Roi, en Réponse." This is signed, p. 513, at "Paris, 23d January, 1753," by Mildmay, Ruvigny, de Cosne; and the French commentary is, p. 538. "Fait à Paris le premier juin mil sept cent cinquante-six. Signé De Silhouette." The remainder of the volume, pp. 539-654, is occupied by a list of authorities cited by the English commissioners and illustrative documents added by the French representatives. Article XXIV., pp. 458-470, is a reply by the English side to the "historical summary Account of the first Voyages made by the English and French for the Discovery and Settlement of North-America," which formed part of the first French Mémoire, in this official edition, 1755, vol. I., pp. 10-37. Several paragraphs in this Article are devoted to establishing the significance of the discovery made in 1497 by John Cabot, a Venetian in the service of England, accompanied by joint Adventurers, native Subjects and Merchants of England. "It is admitted that England did not set a great value at first upon the discovery made in 1497, nor was it for many years carried any farther." It is shown that the north-west passage is not so much as mentioned in the commission under which Cabot sailed, and the discovery is claimed to confer a right to the territory from Florida to 58° northern latitude. In their observations, pp. 470-496, the French commissioners begin by discussing the navigation and discoveries of Sebastian Cabot, whose name was not mentioned by the Englishmen. They then proceed: "On peut, avec raison, élever plus d'un doute, tant sur l'époque de ce voyage que sur les terres qu'on prétend avoir été aperçues par Cabot dans le cours de sa navigation. Peut-être même n'est-il pas bien certain qu'il soit le premier qui les ait découvertes. Pour se former de justes idées sur cette matière, il est nécessaire de discuter les différentes pièces & les différentes autorités." The spirit in which they went about their examination is admirably shown by the very first argument. The authorities, they say, are collected by Hakluyt in his third volume, in the section which is entitled "Voyages, etc. (intended for the finding of a Northwest passage) to the North parts of America, to Meta incognita, and the backe-side of Gronland, as farre as 72 degrees and 12 minuts: performed first by Sebastian Cabota...." "Ce titre n'annonce le voyage de Cabot, que comme un projet de navigation pour découvrir le passage du nord-ouest, & non comme un projet pour établir des colonies dans de nouvelles terres:"—as if Hakluyt's heading settled the whole question. As a matter of fact, as will be seen, the statements in the heading are probably exactly true, because an arctic voyage was made by Sebastian, although neither Hakluyt nor the negotiators of 1755 were aware of it. This titular argument is followed by one even more curious and ingenious, to wit, that the abstract of the Letters Patent of 3 February, 1497-8, "apprend deux faits importants: le premier, qu'en 1498, Jean Cabot, père de Sébastien Cabot, n'était point encore mort: le second, que Cabot n'avait point abandonné l'idée de son projet, mais qu'il ne l'avait pas encore exécuté au commencement de 1498: que par conséquent on n'en peut placer la date, ni en 1496, ni en 1497." These two illustrations fairly represent the skilful ingenuity with which the next twenty pages of the volume are filled.

writers and makers of biographical dictionaries patriotically took up the work, and gave wider circulation to the views, positive and negative, set forth in this historical *coup d'état*. These views, becoming the accepted historical tradition in France, spread across the channel, and exerted a considerable influence on English writers of the early part of the nineteenth century. Eventually, one of the French works fell into the hands of Richard Biddle, a Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, lawyer, who had taken up his residence in England for the purpose of pursuing historical investigations preparatory to writing a treatise on the progress of early discovery. Mr. Biddle read the account of the Cabots in the *Biographie Universelle*, and he immediately recognized that many of its statements were incorrect. He determined to right a great historical injustice. He gathered authorities, drew up his brief, and in 1831 published his *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*.¹ This volume corrected many of the errors in the earlier works, but Mr. Biddle, with a lawyer's acumen, having once started out to correct, kept at it until he had revised very nearly everything in his predecessors, whether it was right or wrong before he touched it. The confusion of 1755 became worse confounded. Biddle's work, however, was of the masterly, masterful sort, obviously one of those publications known technically as "an important contribu-

¹ Biddle's *Memoir* was published in Philadelphia and London in 1831, and reissued in London in 1832 with one leaf cancelled. It immediately attracted much attention from the Reviews, and its influence is plainly seen in the increased space accorded to Cabot in historical and geographical treatises which appeared in the succeeding years. One statement in his preface, p. ii., is, if possible, even more true of what was published in consequence of his work than of what preceded it; that "amidst a great deal of undeniably fine writing on the subject, (of the Cabots).... it would seem to have secured to itself less than any other of patient and anxious labor. The task of setting facts right has been regarded as an unworthy drudgery, while an ambitious effort is witnessed to throw them before the public eye in all the fantastic shapes, and deceptive colouring, of error." Biddle lavished an immense amount of painstaking research upon his volume, which is a mine of information from which succeeding writers have drawn material for which they have rarely given him due credit. The hopelessly confused manner in which Biddle presented his argument, the absence of chronological arrangement in the narrative and of any index, renders it extremely difficult to discover specific statements in his text, or to check the appropriations of other writers.

tion," and a due attention to preliminaries resulted in the acceptance of his argument by the reviewers, who published *résumés* of his opinions in the quarterlies and the principal magazines of that day. A powerful influence was thus created, which effectually dominated the historical traditions of the succeeding generation. This influence culminated in the *Remarkable Life* of Sebastian written by Mr. Nicholls of the English Bristol, who carried the glorification of Sebastian Cabot almost to the point of sanctification.¹ Naturally, Mr. Nicholls's book produced a reaction, which received an impetus from the finding, not long before its appearance, of the news letters and diplomatic despatches sent from England to Spain and Italy in the year of John Cabot's discovery.² This reaction found its first expression in an article published under the heading of "Our Golden Candlesticks" in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, in March, 1871, being Henry Stevens's effective little critique reprinted with the title "Sebastian Cabot—

"This effort to clear away the misrepresentations with which ignorance, prejudice, and malignity have overlaid his life and actions, and to bring out the man from the shroud in which oblivion had partially enwrapped him," was published in 1869. It was, Mr. Nicholls says, "a labor of love: for, like some glorious antique in an acropolis of weeds, he grew in beauty as we lifted off the aspersions which had been cast upon him, until, as the last stain was removed, and our loving work was done, he stood before us in the majesty of his true manhood." An interesting passage is that in which Mr. Nicholls, on p. 187, explains Eden's account of Cabot's death bed, on which "the good old man, in that extreme age, somewhat doted, and had not yet euen in the article of death, vtterly shaken of all worldlie wayne glorie": "Eden's Taisnienus, *A very necessary . . . Booke concerning Navigation*, sig. l. 3. "Perchance Eden understood him not . . . In the infinite ocean of the love of his Saviour he found no variation, but a solid data, from which neither length, or breadth, or depth, or height could separate him: which, passing all human understanding, was partially revealed in the glimpse which his dying eye caught of the Spirit World, beyond the river, and so, joyously and trustfully, like a child in his old age he sank to his rest."

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 412. Most of these first attracted attention when published in the Rolls Series of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs, from foreign archives. Mr. Bergenroth's Spanish series began in 1862, and the first volume of Mr. Rawdon Brown's collections from the libraries of northern Italy appeared in 1864. "The recent discovery in the Bibliothèque Imperial of a map of Cabot, dated 1544," in which Mr. Nicholls found the key to the Cabottian enigma, which apparently justified his volume, took place in 1843, although Mr. Nicholls's remark is justified by the fact that it was twenty years later before historical students began to realize the real significance of the information afforded by this cartographic record.—See Mr. Charles Deane's remarks in the *Proceedings* of this Society for April, 1867, pp. 43-50.

John Cabot = 0." Not long after this, Henry Harrisse took up the subject, and produced his valuable *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*. A portion of this volume was expanded into that superb piece of work, Harrisse's *Discovery of North America*, and the remainder, the biographical portion, grew into his *John Cabot and Sebastian his Son*, which appeared in season to add materially to the excitement of the Cabot quadricentennial celebrations.¹ If Mr. Harrisse had lost his interest in the Cabots when he finished proof-reading this last volume, it is probable that it would have remained for a very long while the definitive work on the subject—a most desirable situation. In it, Mr. Harrisse expressed decided opinions in regard to Sebastian's character and achievements, but there was not sufficient evidence of personal animus to discredit seriously Mr. Harrisse's judgment of that over-rated personage. As it happens, however, Mr. Harrisse had grown in fame, and in years, during the interval between his two Cabot volumes. Realizing his dominant position as the foremost authority on all that concerns the period of discovery, it may be that Mr. Harrisse was nettled by the knowledge that certain writers of standing as scholars had not accepted his *dicta* as definitively determining the judgment of posterity. At any rate, his Cabot book soon gave birth to a flock of lesser writings, scattered in the periodicals of England, Germany, France and America, in which Mr. Harrisse asserted with increasing vehemence that Sebastian Cabot was one of the most unmitigated rascals of all history. It is, he contends, "proved beyond cavil and sophistry that Sebastian Cabot was only an unmitigated charlatan, a mendacious and unfilial boaster, a would-be traitor to Spain, a would-be traitor to England."² Such talk as

¹ The dates of publication are, respectively, 1882, 1892, and 1896.

² These are the closing words of an article on "The Outcome of the Cabot Quatercentenary," in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1898, Vol. IV., p. 61. I am aware of few more instructive studies than that of the way in which the views of this master of historical learning gradually took shape, at first from increasing

this naturally counteracts itself. It is time for some effort to set things right once more, as they have not been right since 1755.

John Cabot's earlier life is, so far as historical students are concerned, fairly well established. He was born in or near Genoa, somewhat before the middle of the fifteenth century. He moved to Venice, probably while still a young man, and there he married a woman whose property has occasioned her son considerable trouble.¹ This son,

information, as his studies for his successive volumes made him more and more familiar with every intricacy of the subject, and then under increasing provocation when, his studies completed, he began to realize that he had not succeeded in convincing the scholarly world of the justness of his conclusions. Mr. HARRISSE entered upon this second state of mind with the preparation of a series of articles, expanded from chapters in his *John Cabot and Sebastian his Son*, which were printed in Drapeyron's *Revue de Géographie* in 1894-97. He next challenged the date June 24, declaring that the landfall could not have taken place on that day, in the *Forum* for June, 1897, XXIII., 462-475. Then came an animated controversy with Messrs. G. E. Weare and G. R. F. Prowse in *Notes and Queries*, for 26 June and 14 August, 1897, 8th Series, XI. 501 and XII. 129-132, in which he convinced himself that the name Mathew as that of Cabot's ship was a forgery of Chatterton. His opinion that the landfall must have been on the Labrador coast was set forth in the *Nachrichten* of the Göttingen kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften for 1897, pp. 326-348. He found support for the belief that Cabot returned from his second voyage, in the so-called "Cabot Roll," which proves that Cabot's pension was paid in 1499, in an article printed in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1898, III., 449-455. The latest of his Cabot publications of which I am aware is in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada for 1898, 2d Series, IV., Sec. II., 103-106, in rectification of some statements in which Dr. S. G. Dawson had disagreed with him.

¹ Sebastian's supposed treachery to Spain and to England is inextricably mixed up with his efforts to secure from the Venetian authorities some acknowledgment of his claims to property derived from his mother: fu dato bona speranza de recuperar la dote di vostra madre, et ameda, according to the letter written from Venice in the name of Cabot's Rhagusan friend, 28 April, 1523, in HARRISSE's *J. et S. Cabot*, 353. Nearly thirty years later the Council of Ten at Venice wrote to their ambassador in England, under date of 12 September, 1551, *J. et S. Cabot*, 361: quanto alla richiesta che vi è stata fata da quei Signori circa li crediti che pretende, e ricuperatione de beni, li risponderete che noi desideramo in tutto quello che potemo far cosa grata a quella Maestà, e a loro Signorie ma che non essendo il detto Caboto conosciuto da alcuno de qui, saria neccessario che esso medesimo venisse per giustificare la sua persona et le ragion sue, essendo quelle cose di che si parla molto vecchie. The same despatch bearer probably carried a letter of similar date from the Reverend Peter Vannes, the English Ambassador at Venice, to the Council of Edward VI.: "Touching Sebastian Cabot's matter, concerning which the Venetian Ambassador has also written, he has recommended the same to the Seigniorie, and in their presence delivered to one of their secretaries Baptista Ramusio, whom Cabot put in trust, such evidences as came to his hands. The Seigniorie were well pleased that one of their subjects by service and virtue should deserve the [English] Council's good will and favour; and although this matter is about 50 years old, and by the death of men, decaying of houses and perishing of writings, as well as his own absence, it were hard to come to any assured knowledge thereof, they have commanded Ramusio to ensearch with diligence any way and

Sebastian, was born in Venice about 1475, being one of a family which contained at least three sons. The father, Giovanni or Zuan, was engaged in mercantile affairs, and made voyages to Mecca and to the cities of Spain. Eventually he went to England, where he established himself at London and Bristol.¹ In Bristol, his plans for adventuring into the unknown world took shape, and he was enabled to put his ideas to the test of trial. Apparently, he persisted for nearly a decade in his efforts to find land westward from Ireland. At last, one morning in June, 1497, he succeeded, and a few weeks later, he received from the English King the reward for his discovery.²

The story of Cabot's voyage of discovery is told in a great many books, and there is no occasion for rehearsing

knowledge possible that may stand to the said Sebastian's profit and obtaining of right."—in Turnbull, *Foreign Calendar*, 1861, p. 171. It is not easy to believe that a person as inefficient and unsuccessful as the Cabot described by Mr. Harrissee could have deceived successfully the representatives of both Spain and England in a matter of this sort. As will be seen by the quotation from Pasqualigo in the next note, John Cabot's Venetian wife accompanied him to Bristol, England.

¹ Soncino wrote in December, 1497, "messer Zoanne.... dice che altre volte esso è stato alla Meccha." Ayala described him, in July, 1498, as "otro gomoves como Colon que ha estado en Sevilla y en Lisboa." Pasqualigo, in August, 1497, spoke of Cabot as being "con so moier venetiana e con so fioli a Bristo." It is unfortunate that there is no means of proving the truth or error in Strachey's interesting allusion to John Cabot as "a Venetian indenzed his (Henry VII.) Subject & dwelling wthin the Black friers," London, in 1495: Strachey; *Historie of Trauaile*, edited by R. H. Major, for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1849, pp. 6-7.

² Soncino stated that Cabot was influenced by what Spain and Portugal had accomplished: "el quale visto che li Serenissimi Re prima de Portugallo poi de Spagna hanno occupato isole incognite, delibero fare uno simile acquisto per dicta Maestà." He goes on to describe the discovery: "li compagni chi sono quasi tutti inglesi, et da Bristo....li principali dell' impresa sono de Bristo, grandi marinari." Ayala, in his letter of July, 1498, makes the statement in regard to the preliminary efforts during the preceding six or seven years: "Los de Bristol, ha siete años que cada año an armado dos, tres, quatro caravelas para ir a buscar la isla del Brasil y las siete ciudades con la fantasia deste Ginoves." The Cabot 1544 map is the authority for the date, early morning of 24 June, as that of the discovery. The dates, 2 May and 6 August, 1497, for the departure and return of the Cabot ship, rest upon a manuscript chronicle, known as the Fust or Toby chronicle, which was destroyed by fire in 1860, and which Mr. Harrissee has ingeniously imagined might have been a forgery by Chatterton; see note 2, *ante*, p. 419. This same chronicle is the authority for the name Mathew as that of Cabot's craft. No doubt has yet been thrown upon Mr. Craven Orde's copy, from the original entries of the privy purse expenses of Henry VII., of the entry, under date of 10 August, 1497, "to hym that founde the new Isle, £10." It is merely an assumption of probabilities which connects this entry with Cabot's voyage of discovery.

familiar details.¹ A single point is all that calls for consideration. Countless paragraphs have been written about Cabot's voyage up and down the American coast, ranging in and out of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, southward to the point of Florida and north to Cape Chidleigh in Labrador. As a matter of fact, I see no reason for supposing that John Cabot spent more than a few hours on American soil during his first visit to this continent. The mission of the voyage was accomplished as soon as land was discovered westward from Europe. Cabot had fulfilled his purpose as soon as he had stepped on shore. Further exploration could add nothing of comparable significance to what he already knew, and this knowledge might easily be lost to Europe by any attempt to increase it. There is no convincing reason why Cabot and his companions need have spent more than a few hours on shore or along the American coast. The stories which they told after their arrival home, so far as these have been preserved to the present day, suggest only the shortest possible delay at the goal of the voyage, and a hurried return with the news.²

¹ The essential details are all derived from two documents, which are mutually contradictory in a most important point. Every student of these documents must have his own explanation, which will, in the majority of cases, commend itself to his favor just in proportion as it differs from every other elucidation of the puzzle. Pasqualigo wrote on 23 August, 1497, that Cabot said he had sailed for 300 leagues along a coast 700 leagues distant: "e dice haver trovato lige 700 lontano de qui Terraferma el paexe del Gran Cam andato per la costa lige 300. On the following day Raimondo di Soncino wrote that Cabot had discovered the seven cities 400 leagues from England: ed ha scoperto due isole fertili molto grandi, avendo del pari scoperto le sette città quattrocento leghe dall' Inghilterra dalla parte verso occidente." This distance is confirmed by Ayala, who, writing on 25 July, 1498, implies that the King told him that the new lands were 400 leagues distant. "El Rey de Ynglaterra me ha fablado algunas vezes sobre ello. Spero aver muy gran interesse. Creo no ay quatro cientos leguas."

² In Pasqualigo's letter, the passage quoted in the preceding note continues: e che e desmontato e non a visto persona alguna, ma a portato qui al re certi lazi ch'era tesi per prender salvadexine, e uno ago da far rede e a trovato certi albori tagliati, si che per questo iudicha che ze persone. Vene in nave per dubito et e stato mexi tre sul viazo e questo e certo.... Sto inventor de queste cose a impiantato suli terreni a trovato una gran + [cross] con una bandiera de Inghiltera e una de San Marco." Soncino's account of Cabot's landing and exploration reads: "infine capioe in terra ferma, dove posto la bandera regia, e tolto la possessione per questa Alteza, et preso certi segnali, se ne retornato.... Et dicono che la terra optima et temperata, et estimanno che vi nasca el brasilio et le sete.... Ma

John Cabot set about preparing for his second recorded voyage very soon after his return from the discovery.¹ Early in 1498 he received the royal authorization, and it was doubtless Eastertide before he was ready to depart. When at last the five ships were ready, they cast off, dropped down to the Severn, out through the Bristol Channel, and so around the southern point of Ireland, where they ran into a furious storm, which drove one of the vessels back on to the Irish coast in serious distress.² This is the last that has ever been heard of the fate of that expedition. Not one word has yet become known which throws any further light on what happened to John Cabot and his fleet. There are, in the sixteenth century books, a number of undated accounts of Cabot voyages. It was supposed that these described the voyage of 1494 or 1497, until fifty years ago, when the accounts of what actually took place in the latter year were found at Venice. Thereupon these undated accounts were all fitted on to this 1498 voyage. The hopeless confusion which resulted may perhaps be disentangled by applying certain of these narratives to a voyage made in 1508.

Sebastian Cabot in 1508 tried to find a way to Cathay across the Arctic circle. He sailed into the north until his progress was blocked by bergs and field ice at 58° or 60° north latitude, and then, being forced to turn back, he

messer Zoanne.... pensa da quello loco occupato andarsene sempre a Riva Riva più verso el Levante." The Cabot 1544 map merely states the time of the discovery, and then goes on with an account of what was known about the country half a century later.

¹ Pasqualigo, 23 August, 1497, reports that the King had promised Cabot ten ships and all the prisoners, except traitors, to man his fleet. "The English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he likes, and a number of our own rogues beside." Soncino, 24 August, had heard that the King meant to send him out next spring with fifteen or twenty ships.

² The letters patent are dated 3 February, 1498. The Fabian Chronicle, quoted by Hakluyt, gives the departure as the "beginning of May." The payment of Cabot's pension, for the half year ending 15 April, 1498, is of little definite value, as will be seen. Ayala, in July, reports that the five ships were provisioned for a year, but were expected back in September. He also tells of the storm: *Ha venido nueva, la una en que Iva un otro Fal Buil* [cf. the phrase "otro como Colon" as descriptive of Cabot] *aporto en Irlanda con gran tormento rotto el navio. El ginoves tiro su camino.*

kept on toward the west until he reached a coast line which he followed southward for some distance.¹ A few of the details of this voyage have been preserved in a report from Marc Antonio Contarini to the Venetian Senate in 1536, in which he stated that Cabot was authorized by Henry VII. to take two ships and that "with three hundred men he sailed so far that he found the sea frozen, and he was compelled to return without having accomplished his object."² Peter Martyr furnishes the additional information that when the immense icebergs forced Cabot to turn back he was so far north that there was continual daylight in the month of July, and that he afterwards made land at a point where the sun had melted the snow, leaving the ground bare. As he followed down the coast, he encountered vast shoals of large fish, whose countless masses actually stayed the free progress of his little craft. Along

¹ Peter Martyr gave the date of this voyage in his Seventh Decade, *De Orbe Novo*. This was written in 1524, and in the second chapter he speaks of a voyage made by Cabot sixteen years before: anno ab hinc sexto decimo ex Anglia. Unluckily Richard Hakluyt corrected this statement, so that in the edition of the *Decades*, which he published in Paris in 1587, this same passage reads, p. 471, Bacchalaos anno abhinc vigesimo sexto ex Anglia per Cabotum repertos. Hakluyt's statement is the more nearly correct, according to what is now known, but the important fact remains equally true that Martyr, at whose table Sebastian was a welcome and a frequent guest, associated his northwestern voyages with the year 1508. This date is confirmed by a passage, which was first made public in 1893, from Marc Antonio Contarini's report to the Venetian Senate regarding his diplomatic mission in Spain. Contarini stated that Cabot made a voyage of exploration under the auspices of Henry VII. of England, but that on his return he found that his royal patron was dead. Henry VIII. died on 21 April, 1509. As I have shown in the *Geographical Journal*, London, February, 1899, XIII., 204-209, the date of this voyage was comparatively widely known during the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1578 George Beste described a Cabot voyage of 1508, with considerable detail, in his *True Discourse of the late Voyages of Discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya by the Northwest*. A year later, at Geneva, Urbain Chauveton published a French version of Benzoni's "New World," to which he made extensive additions, including an account of Cabot's voyage, dated 1507, with details which were evidently not derived from Beste, nor from Ramusio's *Summario* of Peter Martyr, to which it apparently gives a reference. Chauveton's additions were translated into Latin and German by De Bry's editions of Benzoni, in the "Grands Voyages," part IV., issued in 1593 and 1594.

² Cum 300 homini navigò tanto che trovò il mare congelato, ande convenne al Caboto ritornarsene senza havere lo intento suo, cum presupposito però di ritornarsene a quella impresa a tempo che il mare non fosse congelato. Trovò il re, morto, ed il figlio curarsi poco di tale impresa: Berchet, *Fonti Italiani per la storia della scoperta del nuovo mondo*, in the *Raccolta di documenti* published by the Italian royal Columbian commission, Rome, 1893, pt. III., vol. I., p. 137.

the shores large bears were observed, which lay in wait for the fish, leaping into the shallow water, as they saw their chance and drawing their prey to land after much spattering and struggling.¹ The main facts about this voyage were confirmed, also, to a certain extent, by Richard Eden, who states in a note to one of the narratives of the expedition, that "Cabot touched only in the north corner and most

¹ Mr. Harrisse pointed out in his *Cabot*, p. 150, the connection between Contarini's report and the undated narrative in Martyr's *Decades*, Dec. III., lib. VI., which reads: primo tendens cum hominibus tercentum ad septentrionem donec etiam iulio mense nastas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes: & lucem fere perpetuam: tellure tamē libera gelu liquefacto. Quare coactus fuit uti ait nela uertere & occidētē sequi . . . Baccallaos cabottus ipse terras illas appellauit: eo que in earum pelago tantam reperit magnorum quorundam piscium; . . . multitudinem: ut etiam illi nauigia interdum detardarent . . . ipsi piscibus uescantur. Inter densa nanque piscium illorum agmina sese immergūt ursi: & singulos singuli complexos: unguibusque inter squamas inmissis in terram rapiāt & comedunt; Martyr, *De orbe novo*,—*Alcala*, 1516, l. 52. Another and much more realistic account of these fish and bears is contained in the perplexing *Summario* of the *Decades* and other earliest treatises on the new world, which appears to have been compiled by Ramusio, and was printed at Venice in 1534. On l. 65 ("59") there is an Italian version of the passage from Martyr, the latter portion of which reads, in English: "And on account of that ice he was compelled to turn about, and make his way along the coast which at first ran for a ways toward the south, then changed to westward, and because he found vast numbers of very large fish in that region, which swam in shoals near the shore, and as he understood that the inhabitants called them Baccalai, he called that the country of the Baccalai (or codfish?). He had a little intercourse with those inhabitants, whom he found to be fairly intelligent and who covered their whole body with skins of different animals. In that place, and for the rest of the voyage, which he made along that coast toward the west, he said that he found the water always ran toward the west, toward the gulf that the mainland is said to make there. We must not omit a sport which Sebastian Cabot said he had seen together with his whole company, to their great amusement, when the numerous bears that are found in that country come to catch these baccalai fish in this way. All along the shore there are many large trees whose leaves fall down into the sea, and the Baccalai come in shoals to eat them. The bears, who like these fish better than anything else, hide themselves upon the banks, and when a lot of these fish, which are very large and have the appearance of tunnies, have come near, they dash into the water and seize one of them, sticking their claws under their scales so as not to let them go, and strive to drag them on to the shore. But the Baccalai, which are very strong, rush about and plunge into the sea, so that, as the two creatures are fastened together, it is very great sport to see them, now one under the water and now the other above, splashing the water in the air. But in the end the bear drags the baccalao to the shore, where he eats it. This is thought to be the reason why such a large number of bears do not make any trouble for the people of the country."

Gomara in 1552, *Historia general de las Indias*, cap. XXXIX., and Galvano in 1563, *Tratado de todos os descobrimentos*, l. 25. or pp. 87-89 of the Hakluyt Society, 1862, edition, recorded the main facts regarding this voyage, but without giving any additional details, except the degree of north latitude, which they state was 58° or 60°.

barbarous parte" of the new world "from whence he was repulsed with Ise in the moneth of July."¹

Sebastian Cabot may have made another attempt, beside the voyage of 1508-9, to find a way through the northern seas. In a letter to Ramusio, Cabot mentioned the fact that he had once sailed for a long time west and north, until he reached latitude $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north on June 11. The sea was still open before him, and there seemed to be nothing to prevent him from proceeding onward to Cathay, when he was forced to stop and turn back on account of some trouble with the ship-master and mutinous sailors.² There are two other accounts of an English arctic voyage made during the early years of the sixteenth century, which was interfered with by a mutiny of seamen. One is in the fascinating "Interlude of the iiiii. Elements," in which the author, Rastell, describing America, tells how

But yet not longe a go
Some men of this contrey went
By the Kynges noble consent
It for to serche to that entent
And coude not be brought therto.
But they that were the venteres
Haue cause to curse their maryners
Fals of promys and dissemblers
That falsly them betrayed.
Which wold take no paine to saile farther
Than their own lyst and pleasure."³

The other is in Eden's dedicatory epistle to his translation of Munster's *Treatyse of the Neve India*,—London, 1553, where he remarks that "manlye courage, yf it had not been wating in others, at suche time as our souereigne Lord of noble memorie, Kinge Henry the VIII. about the

¹ "Rycharde Eden to the reader" on l. *sig. c j.*, in his translation of Martyr's *Decades of the Neve Worlde*,—London, 1555.

² "Come mi fu scritto, gia molti anni sono, dal Signor Sebastian Gabotto," in the preliminary discourse to Ramusio's *Terzo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*,—*Venetia*, 1556, l. 4.

³ Printed probably between 1510 and 1520, and reprinted in Dodsley's *Old English Plays*, Hazlitt's edition, I., 1-50, and by the Percy Society.—*London*, 1848, vol. XXII., pp. 28-33.

same yere of his raygne, furnished & sent forth certen shippes under the gouernaunce of Sebastian Cabot yet liuing, & one syr Thomas Perte, whose faynt heart was the cause that that viage toke none effect." This passage suggests Robert Thorne's statement, in connection with some adventure of the two old Bristol merchants, his father and Hugh Eliot, that "if the marriners woulde then haue been ruled, and folowed their pilots mind, the lands of the west Indies, from whence all the gold commeth, had been ours."¹

In 1512 Sebastian Cabot left England and entered the service of the King of Spain. There he continued for thirty-five years, enjoying, so far as the extant evidence shows, the unbroken confidence of those in supreme authority in the Spanish empire. In 1530 their faith in him was tested to the breaking point, after his return from La Plata, whither he had conducted a costly expedition which ended in complete disaster. A bitter attempt was made to ruin him, and he suffered legal condemnation for

¹ From the "Book" or letter written by Thorne in Seville about 1527, and printed in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*,—London, 1582. Shortly before the date of the letter, Thorne had sent two of his agents on one of the vessels which accompanied Sebastian Cabot on his unlucky expedition to La Plata, toward the expenses of which Thorne and his partners made a considerable contribution.

No convincing indication of the date of this voyage has yet been discovered. Chauveton, as previously noted, tells of a voyage by Cabot to 67° north in 1507. The date 1517 would seem at first thought to be implied by Eden's "King Henry the VIII., about the same year of his reign," were it not that Richard Eden was far too serious and too sensible a student to juggle with words in the fashion needed to obtain the eighth year of Henry VIII. There are many reasons for doubting the possibility of an English voyage having been made in 1517 by Sebastian Cabot, who had entered the service of the Spanish crown five years earlier. Mr. HARRISSE has devoted much skilful research to proving that Sir Thomas Perte or Spert could hardly have engaged in any voyage away from England at that time. Dr. Errera of Turin—an Italian student who is doing some very excellent work in the line of geographical history—suggests with a good deal of reason that the obvious interpretation of Eden's statement is "about the first year of Henry VIII." This takes us back to 1509-10, and implies a probable connection between the events of the mutinous voyage and those of the iceberg expedition of 1508-9. An open sea at 67° north on June 11, and icebergs in July at 60° are by no means mutually impossible. The two narratives are, however, so clearly distinct in nearly every respect, that it seems much safer to consider them as referring to separate adventures, and to confess frankly that we have no means for determining the date of the June voyage to 67° north, unless we accept Chauveton's 1507, for which the most that can be said is that it has not been disproven.

his share in the failure. But he was immediately restored to his position at the head of the Spanish navigation bureau, and the sentence of temporary banishment, which would have interfered with the performance of his official duties, was not enforced. Little is known about the details of his career during the next few years, but that his services were valued by those who were most interested in what he was doing, may fairly be inferred from the fact that the emperor made repeated efforts to induce Cabot to return, after he retired fifteen years later. In 1547 Sebastian Cabot went back to England, and there he assumed a position of influence, which he retained for the next ten years, as the recognized leader in the maritime affairs of the kingdom. He inspired and supervised the preparations for the voyages undertaken by Chancellor, Willoughby and Burrough, who opened to England the northeastern route to the markets of Russia. The story of these voyages is told in many books, and there is no occasion for repeating the details, or for analyzing the significance of facts about which there is no dispute. It is sufficient if the preceding pages show that the story of the Cabots contains some elements of actual human interest, and that what they did, in 1497, 1508, and 1553-55, justifies the reputation which John and Sebastian Cabot have enjoyed for three hundred years, as two of the most eminent of England's sea-faring men.

SOME NOTES ON ISAIAH THOMAS AND HIS WORCESTER IMPRINTS.

BY CHARLES L. NICHOLS.

ISAIAH THOMAS, Printer, Worcester, Massachusetts. In this simple manner the author of the *History of Printing*, published in 1810, announced himself; and it seems not inappropriate in presenting to this Society a copy of the *Bibliography of the Town of Worcester*, which contains a list of his Imprints, that a few moments should be devoted to Isaiah Thomas as a printer in Worcester.

Brissot de Warville wrote of Worcester in 1788: "This town is elegant and well-peopled; the printer Isaiah Thomas has rendered it famous throughout the continent of America. He has printed a large part of the works which appear; and it is acknowledged that his editions are correct and well edited. Thomas is the Didot of the United States."

Such is the estimate, by a contemporary, of the founder of this Society; and it is my desire to gather together from contemporary sources, as far as possible, the recorded knowledge of the surroundings in which, and the materials with which, he accomplished the results that drew forth the commendation noted above.

Samuel F. Haven, our former, revered librarian, once said, "a newspaper is the autobiography of the community in which it is published." We instinctively turn to the *Massachusetts Spy*, a careful examination of which reveals so much of interest and value in the life of Isaiah Thomas during his early years in Worcester, and illustrates so well his work as a printer, that it is difficult

to select the more important incidents without doing injustice to him or taxing your patience beyond the proper limit.

I. Of his Press.

We learn from the "Memoir of Isaiah Thomas by his Grandson Benjamin Franklin Thomas" that, after three months' partnership with Zechariah Fowle in the publication of the *Massachusetts Spy* in Boston, Thomas, in the fall of 1770, bought out the interest of his partner, together with the types and press on which he had worked as an apprentice. This press,—the famous Blaew press of about 1680,—bequeathed to this Society by Thomas, is now in our possession; and while he undoubtedly had others as his business in Boston increased, it must have been this press which was taken, in 1775, by Col. Timothy Bigelow and Dr. Joseph Warren, across the river to Charlestown, to be conveyed later to Worcester for the use of the Provincial Congress and the furtherance of the cause of Liberty. It has been stated that this press was in the hands of the British for a year and obtained from them after the evacuation of Boston. The uncertainty regarding the future of Boston and his love for the press of his childhood would have naturally inclined Thomas to save that press rather than any other. When he returned to Boston in the following year to secure, after the evacuation of the British, what he could from the wreck of his affairs, and removed to Salem to establish a printing-office, we learn that these materials were sold for debt, and he was obliged to join his family at Londonderry, New Hampshire. These reasons seem to me sufficient evidence that this press was the first one used in Worcester and was the one repaired by Benjamin Franklin during his visit to Worcester in 1776. From this date, through his early struggles to establish a lucrative business, this press was in constant use, even when, in later years his business was so extensive that he had under his control sixteen

presses constantly employed, seven of them in Worcester. In his History of Worcester County, in 1793, Peter Whitney writes, "His manufactures employ and support a large number of people; and it may justly be said that the business of no one person has added more to the consequence and advantage of the town and county of Worcester than his."

II. Types.

The type for this press was saved from his stock at the time the press was removed from Boston in 1775, and was used by Stearns and Bigelow and, later, by Anthony Haswell, to whom his business was leased for two years. Upon his return to Worcester, in 1778, he says that he found them worn down and very imperfect, and in an editorial, July 2, 1778, he writes, "Isaiah Thomas, Printer, the original proprietor and publisher of this paper, resumes the printing business. * * * He has a prospect of speedily procuring a good set of types but the purchase will amount to a very considerable sum; in the mean time, he hopes the readers will excuse its appearance if it does not look as well as when formerly published by him." We learn through his History of Printing that this new type was purchased from a lot secured by the capture of a British vessel from London. It is impossible to determine, however, from the appearance of the paper just when the new type was first used, probably because the quality of the paper was so poor. In a note written on the title-page of a sermon by Joseph Buckminster, printed by Thomas in 1779, he says, "Printed in the Time of the Revolutionary War. In this part of the country no good paper or types to be had."

The *Spy* dated April 10th, 1781, states that he intends shortly to use new, legible and elegant type, which he has lately procured with great expense for that purpose. When the war was over there were frequent importations of type,

and many references to the fact in the *Spy*. In the issue for December 30th, 1784, is the advertisement: "Isaiah Thomas has just received from England a beautiful set of Musical Types, by which he is enabled to print any kind of Church and other Music, and can afford to do it cheaper than such work has been heretofore done in this country from copper and pewter plates. Also a large assortment of all Kinds of Printing Types." In 1786 he printed "*Laus Deo!* The Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony," of which Christopher C. Baldwin wrote, "I believe this is the first specimen of music printed from Types in this country. Before, it has been engraved."

In 1785 his stock had been so much increased that Thomas published "A Specimen of Isaiah Thomas's Printing Types. Being as large and complete an Assortment as is to be met with in any one Printing-office in America. Chiefly manufactured by that great Artist William Caslon Esq. of London," etc.

The text is printed on right-hand pages only and, curiously enough, the pagination is incorrect (a fact noted on the last page by Thomas) in this book of fifty pages, published to exhibit the skill and resources of the printer. To the copy in the possession of this Society Thomas added this note: "£2000. sterling and upwards, were added to this Specimen, in types, from Fry's, Caslon's, and Wilson's Foundries between 1785 and 1784.¹ A great addition, and a far greater Variety of Types were added to the following after 1785. When complete the Printing materials were estimated at Nine Thousand Dollars."

These notes are given to show the small beginning of his press in 1775 and the remarkable extension of his printing business in 1785, a period of ten years, eight of which were occupied with a demoralizing war. In the report of our Librarian in 1884, he states that this book had recently answered difficult questions as to the history

¹ 1786 was probably intended.

of one of the oldest and best type foundries in England. Thus showing the completeness of Thomas's collection of types, as well as the importance of preserving in our libraries even this class of literary material.

III. Office.

Lincoln's History of Worcester states that the press taken from Boston by Col. Bigelow was transported to Worcester, set up and worked, at the beginning, in a basement room of the Colonel's house, which stood on Main Street opposite the Court House. The colophon of the first number of the *Spy*, May 3rd, 1775, states that it is printed by Isaiah Thomas, Near the Court House, and that expression remained unchanged for many years. When he first occupied the building, so long known as the Isaiah Thomas Printing office near the Court House, it has not been possible for me to discover. In the issue of the *Spy* for June 21st, 1776, however, we find "The Publishers of this Paper hereby inform the Public that Mr. Isaiah Thomas having relinquished the Printing Business in Worcester, they shall continue the same *at the Printing-office lately improved by said Thomas,*" etc. It was signed by Daniel Stearns and William Bigelow. This proves that the building so long a landmark on Court Hill (now occupied as a dwelling on Grove Street opposite the entrance to Rural Cemetery) was in existence in 1776, and the print copied in the Reminiscences of Caleb Wall shows that in 1802 that office stood quite near the Brick Court House. For some years Mr. Thomas had a storehouse close to (ten feet from the rear wall) and in the rear of the Court House, built in 1751. In 1799 this storehouse was struck by lightning, and in the *Spy* for July 3rd and 10th appeared a detailed account of the accident and a minute description of the building, its location and contents. Among other things stored in this building at this time were the cases of the 12mo. edition of Thomas's Bible, which fortunately escaped injury and were later transported to Boston. In the small

building, known as the Printing-office, was done all the printing of Isaiah Thomas and his apprentices. In one corner of it was located the Post-Office of the Town of Worcester from 1775 to 1801. There also was located, for many years at least, his book-store and the bindery connected with his printing business.

In Carl's Tour in Main Street, Worcester, it is stated that in his most prosperous days Mr. Thomas employed one hundred and fifty men in his various departments of printing, binding, paper-making and delivering by post-riders.

Some references may be interpreted to imply that later than 1790 the Thomas book-store was a separate building adjoining his Printing-office, but it has not been possible to determine this. It is known that his son had a book-store in 1795 opposite the Prison in Lincoln Square at the sign of Johnson's Head, but this seems to have been separate from that of the elder Thomas.

IV. Paper.

In the journal of the Committee of Safety of the Province, is the following, dated April 29th, 1775: "Letters from Col. Hancock now at Worcester were read, whereupon voted that four reams of paper be immediately ordered to Worcester for the use of Mr. Thomas, Printer, he to be accountable." On the 12th of May the Committee of Safety voted a still larger amount for the same purpose. This was the first supply of paper for the *Massachusetts Spy* in Worcester and for the printing ordered by the Provincial Congress. It came from Milton, the four paper-mills of which furnished the paper for the Province at that time. That this source was later made use of by Thomas is shown by the apology printed in the *Spy*, September 20th, 1775, which says: "This paper was changed from the Wednesday to Friday issue and a single sheet in consequence of disappointment by an accident, of paper from Milton which did not arrive in season." On the 30th of

May of this year the Worcester County Convention passed the following: "Resolved that the erection of a paper-mill in this County would be of great public advantage, and if any person or persons will undertake the erection of such a mill and the manufacture of paper; that it will be recommended to the people of the County to encourage the undertaking by generous contributions and subscriptions." Without doubt this resolution was inspired by Thomas, and on the 5th of July of the same year the printer advertised that he knew of a person ready to begin this work.

Little encouragement was given however, for on February 7th, 1776, the *Spy* states: "We are sorry we cannot oblige our customers with more than half a sheet this week owing to the want of paper. The present scarcity throughout this county will certainly continue unless a paper-mill is established in this neighborhood." After some months of difficult and unsatisfactory labor, Mr. Abijah Burbank, of Sutton, produced in June, 1776, a sample of ordinary paper from the mill he established in that town. The following notice appeared in the *Spy*, June 11th, 1778. "Abijah Burbank, hereby informs the Public that he has lately procured a workman who is a compleat master of the art of paper making and hopes for the future (provided the good people of this County will be careful to save their rags) to be able to supply them with as good paper as any paper-maker in the State and at least as cheap." This mill was located on the site of the Lapham Mill in Millbury, then a part of Sutton, and at its greatest capacity turned out 1500 pounds of paper per week. The scarcity of rags and the misfortunes attendant upon a new enterprise rendered the supply irregular and the quality uneven, and we find an occasional threat to seek another source unless improvement followed.

The inadequacy of the supply from the Sutton mill as Thomas's business increased, or his desire to control the

price and quality caused Mr. Thomas to look about for himself, and it was doubtless this project which induced him to purchase in 1785 a lot of land in Quinsigamond Village near the scrap yard of the present steel works. The unsettled state of the country and the impoverished condition of the people evidently delayed the plan and he finally sold the property in 1787. On January 31st, 1793, he again purchased this land and erected upon it a paper-mill (the second in this County), a print of which is preserved in the collection of the Worcester Society of Antiquity.

The mill turned out about 1400 pounds of paper per week, and employed ten men and eleven girls. Among the workmen here was Mr. Zenas Crane, who went from this mill in 1799, to establish those paper-mills in the western part of the State which have become so famous by his enterprise. In 1798, Mr. Thomas sold his mill to Caleb and Elijah Burbank, who carried it on in connection with those at Sutton established by their father, until 1834 when it was sold to the Quinsigamond Paper Company.

V. Binding.

One more department was added to his business when in 1782 the *Spy* of April 11th added to its colophon the words, Book Bindery; and from time to time we find advertised in the paper the need of a competent book-binder. How long he was able to carry on this part of his business alone is not known, but Peter Whitney in his History calls it very extensive. That the work turned out by him was excellent, and equal to any in America at that time, is proven by many bound volumes in the possession of this Society. Perhaps the finest examples of Thomas's work as a binder are the copy of the Folio Bible of 1793, presented to the Society by him; and another specimen of the same Bible, formerly owned by William Andrews one of the Boston partners of Isaiah Thomas, and now in the possession of Senator George F. Hoar.

VI. The Worcester Imprints of Isaiah Thomas.

The titles of the Worcester Imprints of Isaiah Thomas contained in the Bibliography of the Town of Worcester were obtained chiefly from the rich collection bequeathed to this Society by Mr. Thomas, from the library of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, the Free Public Library of Worcester, the State Library of Massachusetts and the Congregational Library of Boston. The catalogues of Brinley, Sabin and numberless sale collections have been scanned for verification or for new titles.

From 1775 to the year 1802, at which date Isaiah Thomas resigned the printing business to his son, two hundred and fifty separate titles were recorded, to which number seventy-five more titles of various editions may be properly added, making a total of three hundred and twenty-five books, pamphlets, newspapers, broadsides, *etc.*, which were printed by or for Isaiah Thomas. In 1778, after his resumption of the printing business, we find a sermon with the imprint "I. Thomas & Co." The latter referring without doubt to Anthony Haswell, who remained in his employ for a short time. With this exception the imprint of all books until 1792 was Isaiah Thomas; and from that date the name varied frequently. Isaiah Thomas and Leonard Worcester have twelve titles; Leonard Worcester, for Isaiah Thomas, has eight; Isaiah Thomas, Jun., for Isaiah Thomas, supplies twenty-four titles; Thomas, Son & Thomas (Alexander), nineteen; Isaiah Thomas, Jun., for I. Thomas & Son, two; for Isaiah Thomas by Jas. R. Hutchins, one; while five titles state 'Printed for Isaiah Thomas' without giving the name of the printer. From 1775 to 1780 the words Massachusetts-Bay are invariably employed, the term Massachusetts being used subsequent to that year, the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts being ratified in 1780.

Without attempting to give any exhaustive description of these works, it is my desire to call your attention to

some of the more important books or classes of books which made the press of Worcester famous at that period.

Upon the copy of the *Spy*, May 3, 1775, in the possession of this Society, is written by Thomas, "This is the first Thing ever printed in Worcester," and it is natural that this newspaper should first engage our attention. A careful study of the notices, advertisements to the public, and appeals by the printer, reveals much of interest and value in the struggle for recognition which Mr. Thomas made in the early years of his life in Worcester. The two great difficulties against which he strove were lack of paper and want of patronage. Of the former we have already spoken, and the constant advertisement, "Cash paid for rags at this Printing Office," is sometimes replaced by the more telling appeal to "the fair daughters of Liberty" to save their rags for the printer and thus prevent the press from standing still for want thereof. During the first year two incidents occurred to mar the harmony between Mr. Thomas and his public. The Rev. Ebenezer Chaplin, of Sutton, having been refused the columns of the *Spy* for some of his effusions, preached a sermon affirming that the motto "Do thou great liberty," *etc.*, was rank idolatry, and that the editor was an Atheist as well as a Tory.

This called forth a flaming editorial from Mr. Thomas and a reply from the Church at Sutton, which took up the quarrel of its pastor. Injurious as such an attack must have been, it had no such evil consequences as the second incident. In the *Spy* of March 1st, 1776, we find the following editorial: "The Printer is sorry to say, especially at this Crisis of affairs, that the cruel hand of Oppression, in conjunction with unmerited malice, prevented him from publishing a paper last week." Again on the 12th of April, we learn that the printer was unable even then to settle his affairs. "It was his misfortune," he wrote, "to fall into the hands of a mortal whose Pharaoh-like heart was bent on cruelty and oppression." This attachment of

his property scattered his customers and was the probable cause of the two years lease of the *Spy* which followed. From his return in 1778 are to be found frequent appeals for support. In the issue for December 21st, 1780, he wrote that the *Spy* in 1774 had a list of 3500 subscribers in Boston; that in Worcester in 1775 the number was 1500, and the same in 1776. In 1778 and 1779 he had 1200; in 1780, during the first three months, he had but 150 subscribers, during the next quarter 500, and since that time 271 only. In conclusion he states, "it is always allowed that 600 customers with a considerable number of advertizements will barely support the publication of a newspaper," and agrees to continue if 750 subscribers are guaranteed.

Soon after this date (1781) the *Spy* was enlarged, the type improved, better paper secured and arrangements were made to obtain subscribers in Boston; and from this time we hear no more suggestions of lack of patronage. A very interesting editorial appeared October 16th, 1783, upon the value of the newspaper, in which he says, "the press is the Palladium of Liberty," and calls attention to his paper as a model of excellence, as it undoubtedly was at that period.

From this date we find long lists of importations from England, including books and materials of his own trade; and for two years the tide of prosperity was at its highest point. Then came the reaction, and an editorial on July 28th, 1785, says, "The present scarcity of money will in all probability be the only means to bring us to our senses. We have made large importations from Great Britain and elsewhere and have little besides cash to make payment. All the circulating currency in United America is now thought insufficient to pay what we owe for foreign luxuries. * * * This will of course set us at work and it is to be hoped make us industrious. * * * Nature has furnished us with soil and climate which will

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latter containing a description of the battle of Lexington by the Rev. Mr. Gordon of Roxbury. The first of the series of Thomas Almanacs proper was printed in 1778, and they continued from that date without intermission until 1820. In addition to the usual calculations, these almanacs contained information of greater value and more solid character than the others. In the issue for 1784 is given the full text of the Articles of Peace, in that for 1786 the Declaration of Rights, and each year had its particular attraction to excite an abiding interest in his almanac.

The Thomas Almanacs were published in October of the previous year, and reference to the *Spy* shows that frequently a second and even a third edition was published before December, when the other almanacs were issued, thus proving the business acumen of Mr. Thomas as their contents did his superior literary taste.

In his *History of Printing*, Isaiah Thomas wrote, "The books printed during a century in New England were nearly all on religion, politics, or for the use of schools"; and these three classes were fully illustrated in his own imprints in Worcester. The sermons printed by him are an almost complete ecclesiastical history of Worcester County: while Hart's Hymns, 1782; Ballou's Hymns, 1785; Watts's Psalms, 1786; Brady & Tate's Psalms, 1788; with the Worcester Collection of Sacred Harmony, 1786; and French's Psalmists' Companion, 1793,—show the books used in worship by the churches of that period.

The Constitution or Frame of Government for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (ratified in 1780) was printed in 1787. The Perpetual Laws of Massachusetts from 1780 to 1788 were gathered together and printed by Thomas in 1788, and a second volume, carrying the collection to 1798, appeared in 1799. Jonathan Jackson's "Thoughts Upon the Political Situation," *etc.*, came out in 1788, as did Minot's History of the Insurrection in

Massachusetts in 1786. In 1790 a fine edition of Blackstone's Commentaries was printed in four volumes.

These will give an idea of the more weighty political and legal treatises which issued from his press. When we turn to the purely literary side, we find among the finest specimens of his work are the Masonic orations. An enthusiastic Mason, he compiled the "Constitutions of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons" in 1792, and, six years later, printed a second edition, edited by Thaddeus M. Harris. In 1793 appeared Peter Whitney's History of Worcester County.

Millot's Elements of General History, in five volumes, in 1789; Josephus's Works, in six volumes, in 1794; St. Pierre's Studies of Nature, in three volumes, in 1797; and Charlotte Smith's Elegiac Sonnets in 1795,—are some of the reprints noted in this list.

The last is one of the finest productions of his press, the paper being made at his own mill, the illustrations being engraved in Worcester and the printing done on the old press of his youth. The preface to this book evidences his love for his art and reminds one of the introductions written by Baskerville to whom Thomas has been likened.

Samuel Sewall's *Carmina Sacra*, printed in 1789, containing Latin versions of the Psalms and a Greek ode, is another choice specimen of his presswork.

In 1780, to eke out his small income from printing, Isaiah Thomas entered into partnership with Joseph Trumbull in the drug store started in 1772 by Dr. William Paine, and continued his interest in that business for several years. Whether this gave him the impetus, or his natural tendency to search for and secure the best in every branch of knowledge, is not known, but from his press came reprints of some of the finest medical works of the day. Cullen's First Lines of Physic, in 1790; Bell's Surgery, in three volumes, in 1791; Hamilton's Female Family Physician, in 1793; White's Pregnancy and

Smellie's Plates, in the same year,—illustrate his judgment and skill, as well as show the high character of the medical profession in Massachusetts at this period.

His own meagre training at school and his restless search for knowledge in consequence, prepare us for the deep interest he displayed in all educational matters, as well as in the publication of school books. Twenty titles are recorded of such productions, mainly reprints, but several the product of our own talent. Among the first stands Perry's Spelling Book. In the *Spy* of March 3d, 1785, appeared an editorial, signed by an old schoolmaster, giving strong reasons for the superiority of this over all other spelling books, and stating that the expense of importation alone prevented its use in Andover and Leicester Academies. The same month was advertised the First Worcester Edition of Perry's Spelling Book, and from this time, a new edition appeared almost yearly until 1804, when it was reconstructed and improved. I have been unable to find any clue to the size of the editions of the Thomas imprints, except in the case of this book. In the Improved Edition of 1804 the preface states, "Fourteen editions of this useful book have issued from our Press in Worcester (constituting at least 300,000 copies)"; and in 1805 the preface states that 20,000 copies of that book had been sold the previous year.

In the fall of 1785 Thomas published a Spelling Book designed by himself, which he states, in the *Spy* of November 24th, was intended to be used by teachers not having had a classical education, and which would serve as a good introduction to Perry's. His manuscript note in the copy belonging to this Society states that it was rather hastily compiled and set aside with the publication of Perry's work. In 1788 Perry's Royal Standard English Dictionary appeared (the first in America), and its dedication was "To the American Academy of Arts and Sciences." Curiously enough, there is in the possession

of this Society the galley proof of a letter to Isaiah Thomas, dated 1787, from Benjamin Franklin, accepting the honor of the dedication of this dictionary to himself.

Ash's Grammatical Institutes, or an Easy Introduction to Dr. Lowth's English Grammar appeared in 1785, and was used with the Grammar in Perry's Spelling Book until Webster's work and Lindley Murray's popular Grammar came into use. It was the custom then, however, to use the Latin grammar, and, in 1786, the popular Introduction to the making of Latin, by John Clarke, was reprinted.

In the year 1794 Caleb Alexander, a minister at Mendon, published "A Grammatical Institute of the Latin Language," a book founded on Clarke's work, but much improved.

In 1795 he published "A New Introduction to the Latin Language," *etc.*, which he claims is the first work of its kind in America. "A Grammatical System of the Grecian Language" appeared in 1796, which, the *Spy* says, is the first Greek Grammar in America.

Caleb Alexander published, also, the first American translation of Virgil, in 1795, and "A Young Ladies and Gentlemen's Spelling Book in 1799," and was the critical editor of the Greek Testament of 1800.

These three, although Worcester imprints, did not appear from the press of Isaiah Thomas, but are given to show the versatility and classical education of this preacher of Mendon.

Nicholas Pike's Arithmetic was published in 1787, in Newburyport, by Thomas, and at once replaced the half-dozen inferior ones then in use. In 1795 a second edition was published in Worcester, and in 1797 an improved edition was published under the supervision of Ebenezer Adams, Principal of Leicester Academy, and its popularity continued far into the new century.

These examples will show the care with which Thomas selected the best books in these branches, and the active

outlook he kept for the improvements demanded by the necessities of his public.

Of the various editions of the Bible printed by Isaiah Thomas so much has been said that nothing of interest can be added. The Hieroglyphic Bible, printed in 1788, filled "with Emblematical figures for the Amusement of Youth," is one of the rarest bibles printed by Thomas in Worcester, and shows a remarkable relaxation in the age which printed for its children "A Token for Children by James Janeway (1795)," The History of Holy Jesus (1786) and Watts's Divine and Moral Songs for Children (1778). The same year which saw a broadside, "The Confession and Dying Words of Samuel Frost, who is to be Executed This Day, October 31, 1793, for the Horrid Crime of Murder," the colophon of which reads: Printed and Sold at Mr. Thomas Printing office in Worcester. Price 6d. Also A Poem on the Occasion, Price 3d, records "A Faithful Narrative of the Wonderful Dealings of God towards Polly Davis of New Grantham in the State of Newhampshire Taken from her own Mouth" etc. This latter represents a class of literature for the conversion of youth to that gloomy form of religion which is, happily, being replaced by a more vital and practical Christianity in our own generation.

But we must stop here to consider that class of books which has made Isaiah Thomas more noted than any, perhaps all others, which he printed. I refer to the Juveniles reprinted from the Carnan and Newbery Chap-books. Those exquisite gems of fancy, bound in flowered Dutch gilt paper have a life of their own, apart from all others, and it seems to me not inappropriate that the art of making these gilt covers even, should have been lost. They are matchless! I have little patience with the modern Folk Lore Study which so materializes these tales as to render them attractive to childhood because they recall a prenatal stage in the unthinking mind of youth. No! I prefer to

thank Heaven with Southey and Charles Lamb that we could be fed with such manna rather than the depressing though well-intended writings of James Janeway and Mrs. Barbauld.

While the authorship of many of these little books can be ascribed directly to John Newbery, as that extract from Dr. Primrose's Diary shows, in which he states that he found Newbery working up the story of Tommy Trip, and others bear the earmarks of Newbery's advertising genius, like the allusion to Dr. James's Fever Powders in Goody Two Shoes; a more careful study of these toy-books deepens the impression that Oliver Goldsmith lent to many the freshness of his matchless wit as well as the beautiful simplicity of his literary style.

In the *Boston Chronicle* for August, 1767, I find advertised by John Mein, Giles Gingerbread and Tommy Trip, with other gilt covered little books for children, so early did the Boston booksellers recognize the value of these books; and from this time frequent importations are recorded. Among the earliest importations of Thomas after the peace of 1783, we find a variety of small gilt books for children, and in 1784 he prints a long list of these juveniles just received from London. What caused him to reprint these books is not known. It may be the recollection of Tom Thumb's Folio, which he set up in 1762, when an apprentice for Andrew Barclay. It is more than probable, however, that the conviction which was forced upon him at this period that the imports of the country had become a serious menace to her prosperity, set into activity his fertile mind with the well known result.

On the 27th of June, 1786, the following advertisement appeared in the *Worcester Magazine*: "A large Assortment of all the various sizes of Children's books, Known by the name of Newbery's Little Books for Children, are now republishing by I. Thomas in Worcester, Massachu-

setts. They are done exactly in the English Method, and it is supposed the paper, printing, cuts and binding are every way equal to those imported from England. As the subscriber has been at great expense to carry on this particular branch of Printing extensively, he hopes to meet with encouragement from the Booksellers in the United States."

In 1784, the Royal Primer appeared; in 1785, two other juveniles were printed, one being Mother Goose, the history of which has been so fully treated by William H. Whitmore. From the date of the above notice they increased rapidly in numbers,—in 1786, eleven; in 1787, twenty-two; in 1788, eight; in 1789, four; in 1794, seven; in 1795, two; and in 1796, four. Sixty-one titles can be referred to Thomas without question and about twenty more have the weight of probability. How large the editions of these juveniles were it is impossible to determine, for no reference has been found in the columns of the *Spy*, and single copies of many are the sole proofs of their existence. It is not surprising, however, that they are so rare, for childhood, like nature is prodigal of its resources.

These notes have been placed before you with no attempt at completeness, but with the avowed purpose of calling from the productions of the press of our first printer, Isaiah Thomas, such titles as may arouse your interest in a branch of book-lore too little studied at the present time—local bibliography.

THE MASCOUTINS.

BY LUCIEN CARR.

IN the accounts that have come down to us of the first settlements in Canada and the United States, mention is made, more or less frequently, of a tribe or, possibly, it would be more correct to say a band, of Indians who lived, at different times, in different places, were known by different names and who virtually disappeared early in the eighteenth century. Who they were, where they lived and what became of them, has been, either directly or indirectly, a subject of frequent inquiry;¹ and as the results have not always been satisfactory, it has occurred to me that it might not be amiss to devote a few moments to an examination of the early records, with the view of finding out exactly what they tell us of these people, and whether it is of such a character as to justify us in forming definite conclusions as to their career and probable fate.

Beginning with Champlain,² from whom we first hear of them, we are told that "they call themselves Assistagironons," a Huron word which means in French "*gens de feu*," or, as we should say, Fire Nation. This was in about the year 1615, and at this time they were living some

¹ Among the best of these is the paper by William Wallace Tooker, in which he contends, and with a fair measure of success, that the Fire Nation and Bocoota wanaukes of Strachey (*Historie of Travalle into Virginia*) were one and the same people. The *Indians of Ohio* by M. F. Force; *An Inquiry into the Identity and History of the Shawnee Indians* by C. C. Royce; and the *Story of a Mound or the Shawnees in Pre-Columbian Times* by Cyrus Thomas—may all be consulted to advantage. In fact, anything and everything that tends to throw light upon the fortunes of these Parthians of History, as the Shawnees have been called, will be found of interest by those who hold, as I am disposed to do, that the Fire Nation, Mascoutins, or to give them the name by which they called themselves, the Prairie people, were an offshoot of that tribe.

² *Voyages*, Tome I., pp. 357, 358: Paris, 1830.

ten days' journey distant from the Cheveux Relevés, with whom they were at war, as indeed they also were with the Huron tribe of Neuters. Some twelve or fifteen years later, A. D. 1632, Sagard¹ repeats almost verbatim what is said of the hostile relations existing between them and these two tribes, though he speaks of them as the *Nation de Feu*, and tells us that instead of ten days, they were two hundred leagues and more from the Cheveux Relevés, as the Ottawas² were then called. Little as this is, it is practically all that was known of these people prior to the visit of Nicolet in 1634-5, for up to that time, it is not probable that a single member of this tribe, except the child mentioned by Le Jeune,³ had ever been seen by a white man; and the accounts of Champlain, Sagard and even of Raguenaud⁴ are too indefinite to warrant an opinion as to where they lived, though there is reason to believe, as we shall see later on, that they, or the confederacy to which they belonged, once held the region south of the Lakes and north of the Ohio, including the peninsula of southern Michigan.

However, be this as it may, there seems to be no doubt that when visited by Nicolet, they were living in what is now known as Wisconsin and probably on Fox River. Indeed, it is from him that we get the word Mascoutins,⁵ which, we may remark in passing, really means Prairie

¹ Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons, I., pp. 53, 147, 148; Paris, 1865.

² " * * * Ondataouaonat de la langue Algonquine, que nous appellons les cheveux relevez à cause que leur chevelure ne descend point en bas, mais qu'ils font dresser leurs cheveux, comme une creste qui porte en haut," Jes. Relation, 1654, p. 2; Quebec, 1858. "L'ancienne demeure des Outaouacs estoit un quartier du lac des Hurons d'où la crainte des Iroquois les a chassez, et où se portent tous leurs desirs comme à leur pais natal"; Relation, 1667, p. 17. Cf. Relation, 1670, p. 78; 1671, p. 47.

³ Relation, 1632, p. 14; Quebec, 1858.

⁴ Speaking of the Attistachronon and others, we are told: "Toutes ces nations sont sedentaires * * * elles cultivent la terre, et par consequent sont remplies de peuple * * * il n'y a point de doute que ces peuples ne soient au nord de la Virginie, de la Floride, et peut estre encore de la nouvelle Mexique"; Jes. Rel., 1640, p. 35; Quebec, 1858.

⁵ Jesuit Relation, 1640, p. 35, where they are called Rassaoua Koueton, and are said to speak Algonquin, and to live in the neighborhood of the Winnebagoes, who were on Green Bay. Vinmont credits his knowledge of these people to Nicolet.

People,¹ and was the name by which they knew themselves, though owing to a mistake in substituting the word *Ich-koute*, fire, for *Machkoute*, prairie, the Hurons and Iroquois called them Assista Ectaeronnonns² from *Assista*, fire, and *Eronon*, Nation.³ This, as we have seen, signifies in French, *Nation du Feu*; and though it was evidently a mistake, and the name, like Sioux, Moki, etc., was unknown to the people themselves, yet it was maintained, especially by the authors of the Jesuit Relations, long after Perrot, Allouez and others had made us familiar with their true appellation.

Continuing our investigations, we find that these people spoke Algonquin,⁴ and that they were always at war with the Neuters, by whom they seem to have been terribly punished.⁵ To take but one instance, we are told that, in 1643, a war party of two thousand Neuters attacked one of their palisaded villages which was defended by nine hundred warriors. After a siege of ten days, it was carried by assault, in the course of which many were killed, and eight hundred men, women and children were taken prisoners. After burning seventy of the best warriors, they

¹ "La Nation du Feu porte ce nom par erreur, s'appellant proprement *Mascoutench*, qui signifie une terre déchargée d'arbres, telle qu'est celle que ces peuples habitent; mais parce que, pour peu de lettres qu'on change, ce mesme mot signifie du feu; de la est venu qu'on les appelle la Nation du Feu"; Jes. Rel., 1671, p. 45: Quebec, 1858. Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, V., p. 277: Paris, 1744. Marquette in *Dis. & Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 13: New York, 1852.

² Perrot, *Memoire sur les Mœurs, Coutumes et Religion des Sauvages*, pp. 237, 277: Paris, 1864. Jes. Rel., 1670, p. 99: Quebec, 1858.

³ Sagard I., p. 53: Paris, 1865.

⁴ Jes. Relations, 1640, p. 35; 1641, p. 59; 1646, p. 77.

⁵ "Ces peuples de la Nation Neutre ont toujours guerre avec ceux de la Nation du Feu"; Jes. Rel., 1644, p. 98. In Relation, 1641, p. 72, there is an account of a successful foray made by the Neuters, in which 170 of the Nation du Feu were taken prisoners and "treated with the same cruelty that the Hurons show towards their captives." In the same Relation, p. 72, we are told that there is reason to believe "qu'il n'y a pas long temps qu'ils ne faisoient tous qu'un Peuple, et Hurons et Iroquois, et ceux de la Nation Neutre; * * * mais que par succession de temps, ils se soient esloignez et separez les uns des autres, qui plus, qui moins, de demeure d'interets et d'affection: de sorte que quelques uns sont devenus ennemis, d'autres Neutres, et d'autres sont demeurez dans quelque liason et communication plus particulière." Called Neuters because they refused to take part on either side in the war that broke out between the Hurons and Iroquois. Cf. Relation, 1648, pp. 45, 46, for their country.

put out the eyes and cut off the lips of the old men, and then left them to drag out a miserable existence.¹ Shortly after, in 1651, the Neuters were destroyed by the Iroquois,² and this, of course, put an end to the war that had been going on so long between them and the Nation of Fire, or the Mascoutins as we shall hereafter call them. This, however, can hardly be considered as a benefit to the latter tribe, since it simply brought them face to face with a far more terrible enemy. Indeed, for the next fifty years, we seldom hear of them except in connection with some Iroquois foray. Even in the far distant home in Wisconsin to which they had fled, they were not safe; for the Iroquois now had guns,³ and possessed of this advantage, their war parties swept undisturbed from the Niagara to the Illinois. The whole of this region and even far to the south of the Ohio, they claimed by right of conquest,⁴ and what is more to the point, they made good this claim, for a hundred years and more, by force of arms. But it is unnecessary to pursue this branch of the subject further. As Mascoutins, these people played a subordinate part in the war with the Iroquois, and just at present, it is as Mascoutins that we are dealing with them.

Returning from this digression and taking up the thread

¹ Relation, 1644, p. 98: Quebec, 1858.

² Relation, 1651, p. 4.

³ Rel., 1643, p. 62. In the Relation, 1660, p. 6, we are told "les Hollandois * * * leur fournirent des armes à feu, avec lesquelles il leur fut aisé de vaincre leurs vainqueurs, qu'ils mettoient en fuite et qu'ils remplissoient de fraieur au seul bruit de leurs fusils; et c'est ce qui les a rendus formidable par tout et victorieux de toutes les Nations avec lesquelles ils ont en guerre; * * * Et ce qui est plus étonnant, c'est que de fait ils dominant à cinq cents lieues à la ronde, estans neantmoins en fort petit nombre" etc. Cf. Charlevoix, V., p. 298: Paris, 1744. Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, chap. XXXIII.: Boston, 1885. Colden's *Five Nations*, p. 30: New York, 1866.

⁴ Les Iroquois "ont entendu leurs territoires jusqu'à la rivière des Illinois depuis l'an 1672, qu'ils subjuguèrent les anciens Chaouanons les propriétaires naturels du pais et de la rivière Ohio et avec les quels ils ont été incorporés. Ils prétendent qu'il leur appartient par droit de conquête aussi bien qu'une grande partie du Mississipi. Nous l'avons payé de notre sang, disent-ils, et il est juste que nous le possédions": Palairret, *Description Abrégé des Possessions Angloises et Françoises du continent Septentrional de l'Amérique*, p. 41, 1756. At the treaty of Fort Stanwix they sold all that region now known as the State of Kentucky, claiming it by right of conquest: Butler, *Kentucky*, p. 378: Louisville, 1834.

of our narrative, we are told that living west of Lake Michigan and in close proximity to the Winnebagos, were the "Ouchouanag" (Oshawano or Shawnee¹), and what makes the statement of vital importance in this connection is the fact that they are said to be "a part of the Nation of Fire."² This, so far as I have been able to discover, is the first instance in which the identity of these two tribes is asserted: and as it is the key-note of my argument, I may be pardoned for insisting upon the fact that the statement is positive, and that it was made by Father Lallement, one of that glorious band of missionaries to whom we are indebted for much of what we know of the early history of the lake region. Moreover, it is inferentially confirmed by others of the Jesuit Fathers, for, obviously, if, as we are told, the Ontouaganha were the same as the Nation of Fire,³ and the Chaouanons were the same as the Ontouaganha,⁴ then the Nation of Fire and the Chaouanons (Shawnees) must have been one and the same people.

Under ordinary circumstances this evidence would be considered conclusive: and with this point gained, I might well afford to rest the argument, at least until it can be shown that there is an error in the record. To do so, however, would be to leave several lines of investigation untouched: and as this would not comport with the purposes of this inquiry, it behooves me to examine, somewhat closely, these additional sources of information, in order to compare the possible results with the conclusion to which a study of the Jesuit Relations led. To this end, then, let us first take up the enforced wandering life of these people—for they can hardly be said to have had a permanent place of abode—and see whether it throws any light upon their tribal affinities. Thus, for example, leaving out all unnecessary details and confining ourselves to what is said of the Mascoutins, we find that when first visited by

¹ *Shawnee Indians*, Tribes, V., p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, 1660, p. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, 1660, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1672, p. 25.

the white men, as indeed we have already seen, they were living in Wisconsin and probably on Fox River. At all events, it was near Green Bay, or *Lac des Puants* as it was then called; and here they were in 1658¹ when Dreuilletes reported them as being among the tribes that had been recently discovered, and endeavored in a vague sort of way to fix their place of residence. So far as it goes, this account is correct; and yet it is not the whole truth, for upon an examination of the record, it will be found that their original home was not on Fox River. As a matter of fact, they had fled here to escape the fury of the Iroquois,² and we do not know how long they had been here, nor exactly where they came from. Speaking in the light of later information, it is probably safe to say that they had originally come from the east, as the pressure was from that direction, and it must have been after the Iroquois had made good their occupation of Northern New York. In support of this theory, we have the evidence of some of the oldest maps,³ in which they are placed in the southern part of Michigan, and it is borne out by the testimony of the Ottawas, who "attributed the small mounds and garden beds of the Grand River Valley and elsewhere," the bone caves of Michilmacinac, and the bones in the trenches on Menissing or Round Island, Lake Huron, "to the Mushkodainsug, People of the Prairie, whom they conquered and drove off."⁴ Admitting this evidence, and the identity of the names Mascoutins and Mushkodainsug would seem to warrant it, and we are carried back one remove in our search for the primitive home of these people, and towards the east. When next we hear of

¹ Relation, 1658, pp. 21, 22.

² "These incorrigible warriors pushed their murderous raids to Hudson's Bay, Lake Superior, the Mississippi and the Tennessee; they were the tyrants of all the intervening wilderness": Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, p. 445: Boston, 1867. Compare Tailhan in Perrot, pp. 269, 271: Paris, 1864.

³ See Maps in Winsor's *Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 179, 210, 216: Boston, 1894.

⁴ Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, I., p. 307.

them, in 1668 or 9, Perrot¹ was visiting them; and if we may judge from the feasts, dances and other honors accorded him, he must, from an Indian point of view, have been royally entertained. At this time, they were certainly on Fox River, living in the same village with the Miamis; and here they were in 1670² when visited by Father Allouez in the course of his ministrations. In June, 1673,³ Marquette stopped with them when on his way down the Mississippi, and among other things, he tells us that they had been joined by the Kickapoos, so that, now, there were three tribes living in the village and apparently in perfect harmony.

In the Relations of these two Jesuit Fathers, supplemented largely by Perrot, we have a good account of these tribes—their manners and customs, form of government, religion and material condition. In some respects it is, perhaps, too highly colored; and yet there are but few of us who are familiar with life on a prairie who will not endorse Marquette⁴ when he says: "I felt no little pleasure in beholding the position of this town; the view is beautiful and very picturesque, for from the eminence on which it is perched, the eye discovers on every side prairies spreading away beyond its reach, interspersed with thickets or groves of lofty trees." Being somewhat of a practical turn of mind, he adds: "the soil is very good, producing much corn: the Indians gather also quantities of plums and grapes, from which good wine could be made, if they chose." Flattering as is this picture, it is surpassed by Allouez,⁵ who tells us that "this region has something of the beauty of the earthly paradise, though the road to it," owing to the rapids in

¹ La Potherie, II., pp. 103, *et seq.*: Paris, 1722. Compare Tallhan in Perrot, pp. 51, *et seq.*: Paris, 1864.

² Relation, 1670, pp. 94, 99, and 1671, p. 45: Quebec, 1858.

³ Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 13: New York, 1852.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵ Relation, 1671, p. 43.

the river, portages, *etc.*, "may be likened to the one that our Saviour says leads to heaven."

From this time on, and for the next forty years, we hear but little of these people. In the maps of the day they are put down as living about where they were in Marquette's time; and it is probable that they remained here or in the vicinity until early in the eighteenth century, when we find them settled on the Wabash, near the French fort Vincennes, and in the immediate neighborhood of the Kickapoos. Here they were when Mermet¹ came among them, and, if we may credit his account, they were a stiff-necked people, much attached to their superstitions and not overly disposed to profit by his instructions. Being anxious for their conversion, he adopted the plan of engaging one of their medicine men in what seems to have been a public discussion; and although he succeeded, so far as the argument went, in silencing his adversary, yet, practically, this was all he gained, for he was forced to admit, somewhat regretfully, that his Indian hearers "were not less attached than before to their ridiculous superstitions." What, however, the worthy Father could not effect by argument, was brought about by a contagious disease, which desolated their village, and each day carried off many, including some of the medicine men, who "died like the rest." For the purpose of checking the disease, "their medicine men removed to a short distance from the fort, to make a great sacrifice to their manitou. They killed nearly forty dogs, which they carried on the top of poles, singing, dancing and making a thousand extravagant gestures. The mortality, however, did not cease for all their sacrifices. The chief of the medicine men then imagined that their manitou, being less powerful than the manitou of the French, was obliged to yield to him. In this persuasion he many times made a circuit around the fort, crying out with all his strength: 'We are dead;

¹ Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, p. 203: New York, 1846.

softly manitou of the French, strike softly—do not kill us all.' Then addressing himself to the missionary: 'Cease, good manitou, let us live; you have life and death in your possession: leave death—give us life.' The missionary calmed him, and promised to take even more care of the sick than he had hitherto done; but notwithstanding all the care he could bestow more than half in the village died."

Here, then, reduced in numbers to less than half their strength, we take our leave of these people, for we do not hear of them again, at least not as Mascoutins. Whether they were absorbed by the Kickapoos is uncertain, though it is extremely probable that they were. Such an occurrence would have been according to Indian custom;¹ and as these two peoples belonged to the same stock, spoke the same language, and had lived for upwards of fifty years in the same village, or as near neighbors, there can be nothing impossible or improbable in the suggestion that they had, at last, decided to join forces and become, for all political purposes, one people. However, this is not a point on which it is necessary to insist. Its interest is incidental and it might be omitted altogether without affecting in any way the strength of our argument. What we cannot afford to ignore, is the statement that some six or seven days' journey southwest by west of the Pottowatomi village of St. Michel, were thirty villages of Atsistagherronons. In the same Relation mention is made of a village of Makoutensak three days' journey by water from St. Michel and more inland.² If these two statements mean anything, they justify the inference that, at

¹ "C'est la coutume de ces Peuples, mesme des infideles, lorsqu'une nation se refugie dans quelque pais estranger, que ceux qui les recoivent les distribuent incontinent dans diverses maisons, où non seulement on leur donne le giste, mais aussi les necessitez de la vie, avec une charité qui n'a rien de barbare, etc., etc. . . . J'ai vu les Hurons pratiquer tres-souvent cette hospitalité: . . . sept et huit cents personnes trouvoient dès leur abord, des hostes charitables qui leur tendoient les bras, qui les secouroient avec joye, et qui mesme leur distribuoient une partie des terres déjà ensemençees, afin qu'ils pussent vivre, quoy qu'en un pais estranger, comme dans leur Patrie." *Jesuit Relation*, 1650, p. 28; Quebec, 1658.

² *Relation*, 1658, pp. 21, 22.

this time, these people were divided into two bands, and that the one to the southwest was much the larger. That these latter were the same as the Chaouanon, who lived thirty days' journey east-southeast of the Illinois,¹ hardly admits of a doubt. The names—Atsistagherronons, Ontouaganha, Chaouanons—indicate it, for they are synonymous; and, besides, there was not in all this region a dozen, much less thirty, villages of Atsistagherronons, though Shawnees were known to be on the Ohio² or Ouabouskigou,³ and in large numbers. But even if this were not the case it would not affect our contention that the Mascoutins and Shawnees spoke the same language. That rests upon different grounds; and it is made evident by the fact that the Mascoutins and Kickapoos both spoke Algonquin and were mutually intelligible.⁴ So too did the Shawnees,⁵ though they may have used a different dialect. This is certainly clear enough, but it is not the only proof we have bearing upon this point. The Sacs and Foxes,⁶ for example, according to their own account,

¹ Relation, 1670, p. 91.

² "The next south of this is the vast river Hohio * * * Formerly divers Nations dwelt on this river, as the Chawanoes (Shawanees) a mighty and very populous people, who had above fifty towns, and many other nations, who were totally destroyed or driven out of their country by the Irocois, this river being their usual road when they make war upon the nations who lie to the south or to the west." Coxe, *Carolana* in *Hist. Coll.: Louisiana*, Part II., p. 229.

³ "We came to a river called Ouaboukigou * * * this river comes from the country on the east, inhabited by the people called Chaouanons, in such numbers that they reckon as many as twenty-three villages in one district, and fifteen in another, lying quite near each other; they are by no means warlike, and are the people the Iroquois go so far to seek in order to wage an unprovoked war upon them." *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, pp. 41, 42: New York, 1852. Bearing upon this point is the following: "Tirant un peu plus vers le Couchant que vers le midi, une autre bande d'Iroquois va chercher, jusques à quatre cents lieues d'ici une nation qui n'est criminelle que parce qu'elle n'est pas Iroquoise; ou la nomme Ontouagaunha" etc. Relation, 1662, p. 2: Quebec, 1858.

⁴ " . . . Les Kikabou qui parlent même langue que les Machkouteng "; Relation, 1670, p. 100. In the Relation, 1672, p. 41, Father Allouez tells us that there were in "cette bourgade des Maskoutench, qui est la Nation du Feu, trois peuples de langues différentes," having apparently forgotten his statement that the Kickapoo and Mascoutins spoke same language. There are many reasons for believing this latter statement to be correct.

⁵ "Ou la nomme Ontouagaunha, comme qui diroit là où on ne sait pas parler, à cause de l'Algonquin corrompu qui y est en usage." Relation, 1662, p. 2: Quebec, 1858.

⁶ Morse, *Appendix to Report*, p. 122: New Haven, 1822.

were related by language to the Kickapoos, "could converse with them" as they phrased it, and it is a fair inference that the Shawnees could do the same, since they "were descended from the Sauks." Moreover, in classifying these tribes according to language, Gallatin¹ puts the Shawnees, Kickapoos, *etc.*, *etc.*, into one group, which he styles the Western Lenape; and if to this we add the fact that, according to the account that the Shawnees² gave of themselves, they and the Kickapoos were originally one people, and that in 1811, just before the battle of Tippecanoe,³ we know that bands of the two tribes occupied neighboring sites if not the same village, it will be seen that the evidence points most unmistakeably to their identity both politically and linguistically. If this be admitted, it must follow that the Mascoutins and the Shawnees spoke the same language, for things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other, and the language of these two tribes did not differ materially from that of the Kickapoos.

Thus far in the course of this investigation, I have approached the subject from one side only; and whilst it has led to results that are believed to be decisive, yet it is incomplete in so far as there are certain features in the early history of the Mascoutins that it does not account for. To fill this gap, let us take up the story from the Shawnee point of view, and see whether and how far it will help us to complete the record. And here I must premise that it is not my intention to attempt anything like a connected account of this erratic tribe. Force, Brinton and others have practically exhausted the field; and if, in some respects, they have left us but little wiser than we were, it has not been due to any shortcoming on their part, but rather to difficulties that are inherent in the subject. For this reason, then, I shall limit myself to

¹ *Archæologia Americana*, II., p. 60: Cambridge, 1836.

² Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, IV., p. 255.

³ Schoolcraft, VI., p. 379. *North American Review* for January, 1826, p. 97.

such portions of the history of the Shawnees as fits in with what we have been told of the Mascoutins, in order to see whether it is of such a character as to justify the conclusion that these two apparently different tribes were but different bands of one and the same people.

The first that we hear of them is from Perrot,¹ who gives us to understand that they lived south of the lakes, and that, after a war which had lasted many years, they and their allies were driven away—"towards Carolina"—by the Iroquois. Of the beginning of this struggle it is unnecessary to speak in detail. Suffice it to say that the Iroquois, defeated and driven from their home near Montreal by the Adirondacks, fled to Lake Erie. This brought them into collision with the Shawnees, and, being again worsted, they were obliged to take refuge south of Lake Ontario, in what is now the State of New York. This, in brief, is the substance of the story; it is, of course, traditional, and yet it is repeated by La Potherie,² who states it as a fact, and by Charlevoix,³ who introduces it with the remark that it is the only part of Iroquois history that has come down to us clothed with an appearance of truth. In a general sort of way, too, it is confirmed by Colden,⁴ who tells us that the Shawnees, called *Satanas* by the Iroquois, lived on the shores of the lakes; by John Bartram,⁵ who says they were the first people against whom the Iroquois turned their arms after their expulsion from Montreal; and, finally, by Morgan,⁶ according to whom, the Iroquois had a tradition that they formerly lived near Montreal and were subject to the Adirondacks. These are the principal writers who have

¹ *Memoire sur les Mœurs, Coustumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, chap. IV., and p. 79: Paris, 1804. Compare Charlevoix, II., p. 244, for end of the War.

² *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, I., p. 289, *et seq.*: Paris, 1724.

³ *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, V., pp. 294, *et seq.*: Paris, 1744.

⁴ *History of the Five Nations*, pp. XLII., and 6: New York, 1806.

⁵ Observations made by Mr. John Bartram in his Journey from Pensilvania to Onondago, p. 23: London, 1751.

⁶ *League of the Iroquois*, p. 5: Rochester, 1851.

treated of this matter, and on examining their several contributions to the story, it will be seen that it comes down to us as a closely connected whole and with a strong presumption in favor of its truthfulness.

Exactly when these tribal upheavals took place is uncertain. Perrot gives no date; neither does Charlevoix, though he thinks "it could not have been very long ago." From other sources, however, there comes a ray of light, and, following it, we are led to the conclusion that it must have been in the latter part of the sixteenth century; for in 1535, in the time of Cartier,¹ the Iroquois were living at Montreal; in 1609² they were established in New York, waging an apparently successful war with their old enemies, the Adirondacks; so that their flight from Montreal, their collision with the Shawnees and their subsequent settlement on the southern shore of Lake Ontario must all have occurred between these two dates. From this time on, we have, relatively speaking, plain sailing. The war that had been going on for so many years, with varying fortunes, between them and the Shawnees, was still in progress, though it is evident, from contemporary records, that towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the Iroquois were, as the old Father expressed it, "at the top of the wheel."³ In fact, after the destruction of the Eries in 1656,⁴ the whole of the region north of the Ohio and from the Niagara to the Illinois was, virtually, uninhabited. The Iroquois had conquered and driven off the tribes that lived here, and for a hundred years and more they held it as a hunting-ground.⁵

¹ "Les Sauvages m'ont monstre quelques endroits, où les Hiroquois ont autrefois cultive la terre;" Relation, 1636, p. 46. Cf. preceding notes and text.

² Champlain, Voyages, I., pp. 199, *et seq.*; Paris, 1820.

³ Relation, 1690, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31; Quebec, 1858.

⁵ "The Iroquois, after expelling the Hurons and Exterminating the Eries who inhabited the country bordering on the Great Lakes, which now bear their names, events which happened about the years 1650 to 1660, took possession of their vast territory and retained it for more than a century after. Their hunting country, which they once occupied, is now embraced in the state of Ohio, and while in their possession was called Carrahague;" Appendix to Morse's Report, p. 60. According

Of the tribes that had once dwelt here, the Shawnees were now and had been for some years a broken and scattered people. De Laet,¹ *circa* 1632, puts a band of them on the Delaware, and another, known to us as Pequods,² in Eastern Connecticut. In the course of the succeeding century, they are found in Georgia, Carolina, Virginia, Illinois, *etc.*,³ though the bulk of the tribe, judging from the number of their villages, was on the Ohio or rather the Cumberland. Of their allies, those who once belonged to what Rafinesque⁴ calls the Shawnee confederacy, and had been expelled from the region south of the Lakes, we know but little. Perrot⁵ tells us that some "were destroyed" whilst "others were obliged to abandon their country"; and curiously enough, La Potherie⁶ makes use of much the same language when speaking of the Mascoutins, Kickapoos and Miamis whom he found living in the village on Fox River. Moreover he tells us that after the

to Brant, the famous Iroquois chieftain, "all the country south of Buffalo Creek and Lake Erie was obtained by the joint exertions of the Five Nations * * * so that by our success, all the country between that and the Mississippi became the joint property of the Five Nations. All other nations now there by permission of the Five Nations": Life of Red Jacket, p. 117; *Archæologia Americana*, II., p. 72.

¹ New York Hist. Collections, New Series, Vol. I., pp. 303, 307.

² Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, pp. 29, 30: Philadelphia, 1885.

³ Force, *Indians of Ohio*, pp. 12-40; Pamphlet, Cincinnati, 1879.

⁴ *Ancient Annals of Kentucky*, p. 25; Frankfort, 1824. Not much faith is to be put in these annals, and yet it has not been very long since we distrusted his account of the Walam Olum, or Bark Record of the Delawares, which Squier and Brinton have accepted as genuine.

⁵ "Toutes ces guerres servirent bien à aguérir les Iroquois, et à les rendre capables de combattre les Algonkins, qui portoit auparavant la terreur chez eux. Ils sont venus à bout de les détruire, et plusieurs autres nations ont éprouvé la valeur de ces redoutable ennemis, qui les ont contraint d'abandonner leurs pays." p. 12: Paris, 1864. " * * * Ils se renderent maître de ces lacs d'où ils chasserent les Chaouanons, qui n'étoient accoutumés qu'à tuer des ours et des cerfs": La Potherie, I., p. 293: Paris, 1722.

⁶ "Les Miamis, les Mascoutechs, les Kikabous, et cinquante cabanes d'Illinois, approcherent l'été suivante de la Baye, et firent leurs deserts à trente lieues à côté des Outagamis, vers le sud. Ces peuples que les Iroquois étoient venus chercher, avoient passé dans le sud du Mississippi après le combat dont j'ai parlé. Ils avoient vu avant leur fuite des couteaux, des haches entre les mains des Hurons qu'ils avoient négociés avec les François," *etc.*: La Potherie, II., p. 102. "Peu s'en fallut que les Outagamis, les Maskoutechs, Kikabous, Sakis et Miamis, ne s'en soient défaits il y a quelques années, ils sont devenus un peu plus traitables." La Potherie, II., p. 77: Paris, 1722. In the Relation for 1672, p. 41, Allouez speaks of the inhabitants of the village of the Mascoutins and "particulièrement de ceux qui estant arrivés de nouveau des quartiers du sud n'avoient jamais eu connaissance d'aucun François."

war "of which he had spoken" and "their defeat," they had wandered for a time "in the south, near the Mississippi," where the Shawnees then were; that they had but recently arrived on Fox River; and that the Iroquois, who never thought themselves sufficiently avenged until they had completely destroyed their enemies,¹ were still in pursuit of them, as they were of the Shawnees.

Indefinite as this is, it is, except in the case of the Andastes, all that is known of the allies of the Shawnees, in the war they waged with the Iroquois for the possession of the region south of the Lakes and north of the Ohio. It is not conclusive, and yet it gives good grounds for the belief that the Miamis and Kickapoos had belonged to a confederacy or league of which the Shawnees were the ruling spirits; that they had been expelled from the region south of the Lakes at the same time that the Shawnees were; that, after more or less wandering in the south, bands of them were found in Wisconsin, living in the same village with the Mascoutins; and that, finally, in the war of 1812, between the United States and Great Britain, they followed Tecumseh and a discontented portion of the Shawnees into the British camp. So much may, we think, be safely accepted. It certainly indicates a long and close alliance between the Miamis and Kickapoos on one side and the Shawnees and Mascoutins on the other; and whilst it does not, of itself, justify us in asserting that the Mascoutins were a band of Shawnees, yet when we remember that they were never heard of except in connection with the allies or enemies of the Shawnees, that the two peoples spoke the same or closely related dialects of the same language, and add to it the fact that according to the Jesuit Relations, Mascoutin and Shawnee were but different names for the same people, it would seem as if there could no longer be room for doubt.

¹ "D'ailleurs les sauvages ne se croient jamais bien vengés, que par la destruction entière de leurs ennemis; et cela est encore plus vrai des Iroquois." Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, V., p. 298: Paris, 1744.

ANDROS RECORDS.

BY ROBERT N. TOPPAN.

THE Records of the Council meetings under Governor Andros, presented today, are a continuation of those published in the Proceedings of this Society for October, 1899. They are taken from the Council Records of Massachusetts, Vol. II., in manuscript, at the State House; from the Massachusetts Archives, also in manuscript; and from Vol. III. of the printed Colonial Records of Connecticut. They end a short time before the overthrow of Andros by the uprising of the people on April 18th, 1689, the last recorded entry, that has been found, bearing the date of March 27th, although there is an allusion in the Archives to a meeting on April 11th.

Taken in connection with the Records of the Council meetings under President Joseph Dudley, the temporary predecessor of Sir Edmund Andros, printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for November, 1899, they form an interesting and valuable series for the student of the early history of Massachusetts, embracing the period of the formation of the short-lived Dominion of New England, which included New York and the Jerseys within its extensive limits, and which fell asunder after the downfall of Andros.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the fourth day of May 1687.¹

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t &c.

Joseph Dudley	Wayte Winthrop	Barn: Lathropp
Willm Stoughton	Rich ^d Wharton	Nath: Clarke
Thomas Hinckley	John Usher	John Albroo
Walter Clarke	Barth ^o Gedney	Edw: Randolph. Esq ^r

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 121, for the same.

Mr West admitted Depty Secy
Mr Randolph Secr: acquainted the Councill, that hee had deputed John West in his Offices of Secretary & Register, which was approved & allowed of; and the oath of Allegiance and that for the faithfull Discharge of said Offices was adminstred to the said John West accordingly.

Thos Waters Pardoned for Felony.
On the Petition of Thomas Waters a Prisoner condemned for Felony the last Supream Court; Ordered that a Repreive be granted him.

Jurors to be returned for the Supream Court of Essex.
Ordered: That Leift Jeremiah Neale, Marshall wth the advice of Captn Wm Browne Justice of the Peace, doe returne the severall Juryes to serve att the Superiour Court to be holden in the County of Essex the eleventh instant and to attend the service of the said Court.

Fees for the Collr and Surveyor of the Customes referred.
Mr Randolph presenting a paper of Fees for his Office as Collector &c. itt is Referred to Mr Wharton, Mr Usher, Mr Gidney, Mr Lathropp and Mr Nathaniel Clarke or any three of them to Examine the same and Report to this Board what fitt to bee allowed.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Fryday the sixth day of May 1687.¹

Present: His Excellcy St Edmund Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Jonath: Ting
Wm Stoughton	Rich: Wharton	Barn: Lathropp
Thos Hinckley	John Usher	Nath: Clarke
Walter Clarke	Bartho Gidney	John Albroe
		Edw: Randolph Esqr ^e

Several Acts to be Ingressed.
The severall Acts following weare read & Ordered to be ingrossed vizt: An Act for regulateing the Assize of Caske and preventing Deceite in Packing of Fish, Beefe & Porke for sale. An Act for the Regulateing of Cattle, Corne, Fields and Fences. An Act for the due regulation of Weights and Measures.

Juries to be returned for the Supr Court at Charles Towne
Ordered: That John Greene Marshall of the County of Middlesex with advice of one of the Justices of Peace doe returne the severall Juryes at the Superiour Court in the said County to be held at Charles Towne on Wednesday the 18th Instant and to attend the service of the said Court.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Munday the 9th day of May 1687.²

Present: His Excellcy St Edmund Andros Knt

¹ See also *Records of the Councils, vol. CXXVII*, p. 122, for the same.
² See also *Records of the Councils, vol. CXXVII*, p. 123, for the same.

Joseph Dudley
Wm Stoughton
Thos Hinckley
Walter Clarke

John Pincheon
Walt Winthrop
Rich: Wharton
John Usher

Jonath: Ting
Barn: Lathropp
Nath: Clarke
John Albroo
Edw: Randolph Esqr^s

Resolved and Ordered: That noe Mackerell be taken before the first of July, except for Balte or spending while fresh, nor with a Sceane att any time under penalty of forfeiture of Fish, Craft and Vessell as formerly untill an Act for Regulateing the Fishery shall be passed.

Order touch-
ing Fishing.

Att a Councill held att a Councill Chamber in Boston on Tuesday the 10th day of May 1687.¹

Present: His Excelley Sr Edmond Andros Knt

Joseph Dudley
Wm Stoughton
Thos Hinckley
John Pincheon

Waite Winthrop
John Usher
Rich: Wharton
Jonath: Tyng

Barnabas Lathropp
Nath: Clarke
John Albroo
Edw: Randolph Esqr^s

Acts past
vizt.

An Act touch-
ing Cask.

Act touching
Weights.

Act touching
Cattle &c.

— touching
Wolves, &c. to
be Ingrossed.

Leave to Mr
Hutchinson to
build a stable

Act about
possession de-
ferred

The Severall Acts following were passed, vizt

An Act for regulateing the Assize of Caske and prevent-
ing Deceite in Packing of Fish, Beefe and Porke for sale.

An Act for regulation of Weights & measures.

An Act for regulateing Cattle, Corne, Fields & Fences

An Act for Destroying of Wolves was approved &
ordered to be Ingrossed.

On the request of Mr Eliakim Hutchinson *Ordered:*
That hee have liberty to build a Stable of Timber &
boards about eighteene Foote square, in an out field as
Desired.

An Act concerning possession was read, & Debate had
thereon, and Deferred till further consideration.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednes-
day the Eleaventh day of May, 1687.²

Present: His Excelley Sir Edmond Andros Knt.

Thomas Hinckley
Waite Winthrop
Rich: Wharton

John Usher
Jonath: Ting
Barn: Lathropp

Nath: Clarke
Edw: Randolph
Esqr^s

Act about
Wolves past.

An act for destroying of Wolves was passed.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Saturday
the one and Twentleth day of May 1687.³

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., pp. 123, 124, for the same.

² See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 124, for the same.

³ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 334. This draft signed by "John West D. Secry" is not complete. See also *ibid.*, vol. CXXVII., p. 125. This draft is complete.

Present: His Excellency St Edmond Andros Kn^t &c.

Joseph Dudley	John Pincheon	John Usher
W ^m Stoughton	Waite Winthrop	John Walley
Robert Mason	Rich: Wharton	John Green
John Fitz Winthrop		Edw: Randolph Esq ^r

Mr Mason & Mr Green sworn of the Council. Robert Mason and John Greene, Esq^rs took the oaths of Allegiance, and that for performing the duty of Councillors, being both lately arrived from England.

Declaration for liberty of conscience read. His Majties Letter for Liberty of Conscience to his Inhabitants of Rhoad Island was read.

Letter about the Treaty of Neutrality. His Majties Letter for publishing the Treaty of Peace with the French and the said Treaty were likewise Read.

Both to be published. Ordered; That the same be published here on Munday next att Change time and in all other Ports with all convenient speed.

And that the severall Acts lately passed and the Proclamation about Mackerell Fishing be likewise published here.

Upon his Majties Letter His Majties Letter for delivering up a Bond by Mr John Usher to the President on the Account of some Canary Wines seized was Read.

Mr Usher's bond about the Canary Ship to be delivered up. Ordered: That the said Bond be delivered up accordingly and all proceedings on that account Cease.

Fees for the Military Commissions to be paid by the Counties. An account being presented by Mr Randolph Secry for severall Commissions of the Peace, Militia Commissions and other publicque writeings for which desired satisfaction.

Resolved and Ordered: That Joseph Dudley, Rob^t Mason, John Fitz Winthrop and John Usher, Esq^rs or any three of them doe examine the same and proportion what due to be paid by each County, and present the same to this Board on Wednesday next.

And that Mr Addingtons account for writeings be likewise stated by the said persons.

Att a Council held att the Council Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 25th day of May 1687.¹

Present: His Excellency St Edmond Andros, Kn^t &c.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	John Greene
Robert Mason	John Hincks	Edw: Randolph
Rich ^d Wharton	John Walley	Esq ^r

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., pp. 126, 127, for the same.

distress upon
Mr Upton for
Indian Pur-
chase adjudg-
ed illegall.

Captⁿ Browne one of the Select Men of the Towne of Reading appeared in the behalfe of the said Towne pursuant to his Excys order, on Complaint of John Upton for haveing a Distresse made on his goods by the Constable by order of the Towne to pay the Indians for purchase of their Lands &c. but produced nothing to Justifie their proceedings.

Resolved: That the Distresse made by the Constable on said Upton is illegall, and hee to have his remedy att Law for recovery of his Damage sustained thereby.

The Act abt
Indian pur-
chases to be
Ingrossed.

An Act for the regulateing of the purchase of Lands from Indians was read and and ordered to be Ingrossed.

Severall Acts
to be prepared.

Resolved, That an Act be prepared for regulateing the Assize of Boards—And an Act that none keepe schoole or Teach, Educate or Instruct youth, but such as shall be allowed.

The Records
of the last
Governrs to be
brought to the
Secretary.

Ordered: That all publicque Records in the Last Governments now annexed under this Dominion be brought to this Towne and putt into the Custody of the Sec^{ty} or his Depty

A small Ves-
sell to be pro-
vided to keep
the Coast.

Resolved upon the Mo^{on} of Mr Randolph that itt is necessary a small Vessell be provided for his Majties service on the Coasts and *Ordered* accordingly.

Licenses for
Publick Hou-
ses to be grant-
ed in open
Sessions.

Ordered. That all Lycences for Publicque Houses be granted in open Sessions and to such onely as are persons of good repute and have convenient Houses and att least Two Bedds to entertaine Straingers and Travellers, for which to give security by Recognizance, except att Boston and Charles Towne where none to be Lycensed without the approbation of the Treasurer.

Act about
Wills to be en-
grossed.

An Act for probate of Wills and granting letters of Administrac^{ion} was read and ordered to be Ingrossed.

Mr. Rand-
olphs acct for
Comiss^{ns} Laws
&c. to be paid
by the Coun-
ties.

Mr Randolphs account of what due from the severall Countyes and Provinces for Commissions, Lawes &c. was brought in and allowed to be paid by each County and Province accordingly.

His accounts of Incidents was alsoe allowed & Ordered to be ratified accordingly.

Fees for the
Custom Office
approved.

The account of Fees presented by Mr Randolph for his Custome Office, being considered off, were approved & allowed.

Att the Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the first day of June 1687.¹

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 128, for the same.

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt.

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	John Hincks
Wm Stoughton	Rich: Wharton	Rich ^d Arnold
Robt Mason	John Usher	Edw: Randolph Esqr ^s

Petition of the Quakers distrained for Ministers Rates. The Constable to returne act of his proceedings. Several acts past. viz. touching Wills. Fishing. Indian purchase. Leave to Mr. Wharton to build a salt house.

The Petition of Edward Wanton of Scituate in behalfe of himselfe and other Quakers who have had their goods seized to pay the Ministers Rates praying to be relieved therein was read.

Ordered: That the Constable of the said Towne have notice hereof and make returne to his Excellency in convenient speed of his proceedings therein.

The severall Acts following were passed (vizt.)

An *Act* for Probate of Wills & granting Administrations.

An *Act* for regulateing the Fishing Trade & Fishermen.

An *Act* for regulateing the purchase of Lands from Indians.

The Pecon of Richard Wharton for liberty to build a Wooden Salthouse neere Fort Hill is granted, *Provided* the building intended do not annoy the South Battery or Fortifications there.

At the Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the two and twentieth day of June 1687.¹

Present: His Excellency Sir Edmond Andros Knt.

Joseph Dudley	Wayte Winthrop	John Albroom.
Wm Stoughton	Wm Bradford	John Greene
Phos Hinckley	Nath: Clarke	Edw: Randolph
Walter Clarke	Richard Arnold	Esqr ^s

Judge be tween through John A. woman ab. times. The Towne of Scituate being ordered to answer the Pecon of Humphrey Johnson about his Clayme to Lands there, which hee pray'd might be confirmed after full hearing of parties on both sides.

Resolved: That the said Johnson hath three Rights of Land in the said Township in behalfe of Resolved White Josiah Holmes and himselfe and to be ascertained to him accordingly.

Resolved: A Salary for the Judges was proposed and to be considered of.

Resolved: An Act for making Barrells &c. for ale Beere & Syder Regulateing the assize of Staves and Boards read.

Mr Ballard of Charles Towne was sent for & proposed to him what care should be taken to keepe the Dry Dock in good repayre as ftted at his Majties Charge and advised to consult with the other persons concerned and to Report their Result on Fryday next; both as to what Interest they expect therein and what for his Majtie &c.

¹ See *Records of the Society*, vol. CXXVII., p. 129, for the same.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Thursday the twenty third day of June 1687.¹

Present: His Excellency Sir Edmond Andros Knt

Joseph Dudley	Rich ^d Wharton	John Greene
Wm Stoughton	Bartho Gedney	Rich. Arnold
Thos Hinckley	Jonath: Ting	John Albroo
Walter Clarke	Wm Bradford	Edw: Randolph
Waite Winthrop	Nathaniel Clarke	Esqrs

Act about
Highwayes re- An Act about Highwayes, Read and rejected.
jected.

The Quakers On the Complaint of Edward Wanton about his goods
not to be dis- being Distreyned by the Constable of Scituate for pay-
treyned for ment of the Ministers Rate
Ministers

Rates.

Resolved. That the said Wanton being a Quaker and attending other Worship then the Ministrey of the Towne, and the Distresse made since his Majties gracious indulgence the same is not approved off, but the Goods Distreyned and now in the Constables hands as by his returne to be restored.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Fryday the 24th day of June 1687.²

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros, Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Nath: Clarke
Wm Stoughton	Bartho Gidney	John Greene
Thomas Hinckley	Jonath: Ting	John Albroo
Walter Clarke	Wm Bradford	Esqrs

Proposals of
the Dry Dock The Proposals of the Owners of the Dry Dock att
to be consider- Charles Towne read. To be considered of.
ed

Mr Green's
acct. for his The Petition of John Greene for satisfaccon of his
voyage to Expences on his voyage for England and returne in the
Engl^d referred service of the Collony of Rhoad Island.
to Connecticut
& Rhode Is-
land for pay-
ment.

Resolved: That the money demanded by s^d Greene being sixty pounds be endeavoured to be raised by contribution as the other money was, and if not gott that way then to be raised in the next Country Rate on Rhoad Island & Providence Plantations being the parts of that Government when hee was sent home.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the Nyne and twentyeth day of June 1687.³

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 130, for the same.

² See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 131, for the same.

³ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 132, for the same.

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Water towne appeare & shew cause next Wednesday why what desired by the Petitioner may not be granted.

Judgm^t. for Confirmation of Lands to Ledgett Jonathan Seleck by one Williams presented a paper setting forth his pretence to the ground in possession of Ledgett as heire to his Father and prayed the Confirmacon thereof may be suspended.

Ledgett likewise appeared and shewed his Title to be by purchase for a valuable Consideration derived from the Administrators of the said Selecks Fathers Estate pursuant to the Law and practice of the late Government in the year 1657, and from that time possession of the same, and noe Lawfull Clayme made.

Resolved. That the Ground may be confirmed to said Ledgett as desired.

A House, Lands &c. in Charles Towne confirmed to Jo: Cuttler. The Peticon of John Cuttler for Confirmacon of his house, Lands and Wharfes in Charles towne read & granted.

A house, Lands &c. in Charles Towne confirmed to Ballatt. The Peticon of Samuel Ballatt for Confirmacon of his house, land and Wharfes in Charles Towne read and Granted.

A house &c. in Boston confirmed to Hen. Mountfort. The Peticon of Henery Mountfort for Confirmacon of a house and Ground in Boston granted.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 27th of July 1687.¹

Present: His Excellency S^r Edmond Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley	Wait Winthrop	John Walley
Wm Stoughton	John Usher	Barn: Lathrop
Robt Mason	Jonath: Ting	Edw: Randolph Esqr ^s

Judgm^t between Mrs Sherman & the Town of Wattertown. Several persons of Water Towne who Clayme Interest in the Land Petitioned for by Mary Sherman appeared pursuant to the last order, and confessed that there is about one thousand acres of vacant Land within their Towne of wch the Petitioners husband was to have a third part but not the whole as desired.

Ordered. That the said Tract be Surveyed and that the Petitioner have about a Third part thereof granted her accordingly.

An Act about Barrells to be Ingrossed. An Act for New makeing Barrells &c. for Ale Beere and Syder and Regulateling the Assize of Staves and Boards was read and after some amendments *Ordered* to be Ingrossed.

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives* vol. CXXVII., pp. 134, 135, for the same.

Present :

Joseph
Robert

Grant :
Wharton
Lands in
Muganset

Mr. S
to have
Acres in
Bay.

All
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His Majty's order in Councill of the 19. of November. 86 upon Mr. Vaughans appeal agt Mr. Mason referred to the Supr Court to be put in Execution.

Upon produceing an Order & determinacon of his Majty and Councill dated 19. November 1686. on the appeale of Wm Vaughan from a Verdict & Judgmt given against him on the sixth day of November 1683. in his Majtys Courts in New Hampshire at the suite of Robert Mason Esqre as proprieter of that Province for certaine Lands & Tenemts in Portsmouth in said Province which Verdict & Judgment is thereby Ratified and confirmed.

Ordered that the Judges of the Superiour Court doe cause the said Judgment to be forthwith executed accordingly.

At the County Rates Mr. Randolphs allowance to be considered.

Ordered, That the Justices of the Peace in each County doe with their next Rates for Publique Charges Raise and Leavy moneyes to pay what allowed Mr Randolph.

(signed) John West D: Secry:

New England

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Thursday the 4th day of August 1687.¹

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley
Robert Mason

Waite Winthrop
John Usher

Edw: Randolph
Esqrs

Letter from Salem about 2 Ketches taken by the French.

A Letter from severall Merchants and Inhabitants of Salem about two of their Ketches being taken by a French Man of Warr and the Masters out of both; and the deposition of John Bissone a Fisherman belonging to one of the said Ketches who looseing the Man of Warr in a Fogg came home without their Master and brought one of the Frenchmen belonging to the said Man of Warr with them, was Read.

The Govr of Port Royall to be written to.

Resolved. That his Excellency write by an expresse to the Governour of Port Royall to have them returned and satisfaction given and to send back the sd Frenchman.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 10th day of August 1687.²

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt

Joseph Dudley
Wm Stoughton
Robt Mason

Peter Buckley
Waite Winthrop
John Usher

Edward Ting
John Greene
Edw: Randolph Esqrs

Act touching Cask

An Act for new makeing Barrells &c. for Ale Beere Syder and regulateing Assize of Staves and Boards was read and passed.

A commission of Oyer & Terminer to try the Pirates of Ipswich.

His Excellency proposed to know what way proper to try the severall persons committed on suspicion of Pyracy.

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 137, for the same.

² See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., pp. 137, 138, for the same.

Resolved That a speciall Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer be granted by his Excellenſe under the Broad Seale of this Territory to such persons as he shall think fitt, to try all such Offenders.

Patents for The severall Patents following being produced in land. Council were allowed and approved, vizt

For a house and two peeces of ground in Boston to John Usher Esqre att two shillings p^r ann Quitt rent.

For a house and Ground in Boston to M^r Henry Mountfort att two shillings sixpence p^r ann Quittrent.

For a Farme in Charlestowne called tenne Hills contelning nine hundred twenty Acres to Lt Colo Charles Ledgitt att tenne shillings p^r ann Quittrent.

An addition- On Consideration had of the Charge of the Gov-
al Imposit. ernmt and Revenue not sufficient to defray the same.

Advised and Resolved: That the most proper and easy way to supply the same is that wine may pay thirty or forty shillings p^r Pye Custome and Rumm, Brandy and Strong Waters twelve or sixteene pence p^r gall: excise.

Att a Council held att the Council Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 17th day of August 1687 ¹

Present: His Excellenſe Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t &c.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Edw: Ting
W ^m Stoughton	Jonath: Ting	Edw: Randolph Esqrs

The Judges representing, it would be more convenient for the Superiour Court appointed to be holden at Falmouth to be held at Welles for the Province of Maine & for that Court att Plymouth to be holden on the first Tuesday in October and Aprill and the Court att Bristol the Frydayes following. The same was *Resolved & Ordered* accordingly.

Order touch- The Inhabit-
ing Courts. ants of Kenne-
bunk to pay
Rates under
Welles. Upon mocon made by M^r Treasurer that the Inhabitants of Kennebunck in the Province of Maine, pretending themselves a Townshipp, refuse to pay Rates under the Towne of Welles.

Ordered: That they be accounted as parte of the said Towne of Welles and pay their Rates to the Constable there accordingly.

Att a Council held att the Council Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 24th August 1687. ²

Present: His Excellenſe Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t &c.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Edward Randolph
W ^m Stoughton	Edw: Ting	Francis Nicholson Esqrs

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., pp. 138, 139, for the same.

² See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., pp. 139, 140, for the same.

Cap^t. Nicholson
of the
Councill.

Pursuant to his Majestyes Command Captaine Francis Nicholson was this day sworne of his Majestyes Councill in this his Territory and Dominion of New England and tooke his place accordingly.

Declaration
for liberty of
conscience &
Proclamation
aga^t. Pirats to
be published.

Upon reading his Majestyes Gracious declaration for liberty of conscience and his Proclamation for calling in and suppressing Pyrates and Privateers with the letters from the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of his Majestyes Privy Councill for publication thereof

Ordered. That the said Declaration and Proclamacon be published to morrow before noone in Boston & forthwith sent to the other principall places.

Money belong-
to Danson to
be restored.

Upon the Petition of John Danson a person lately Committed on suspicion of Pyracie and on his tryall acquitted, praying the money belonging to him lately seized may be restored being to the value of about nine hundred peeces of eight.

Ordered. That what shall appeare before the Judges or any three or more of the Councill to belong to him after examinacon of the Master of the Ketch Sparrow be restored accordingly.

Nich. Page
the same.

Upon the Peticon of Capt^y Nich: Page abt money seized on Board the Ketch Sparrow as the goods of Pyrates claimed by him and prayed may be delivered.

Ordered: That the Master of the said Ketch being examined there-upon before the Judges or any three or more of the Councill what shall appeare to belong to him may be delivered by the Treasurer on their Reporte accordingly.

Commissions
to be given for
the Wreck take
security for
the tenths.

Advised and Resolved, That it's necessary for his Majestyes service to permitt Vessells to goe to the wrecke and that his Excelleye give Commissions to some persons to Command on said voyages security being first given for their good Deportment and to bring what they gett to this Porte and there share and pay his Majestyes tenths.

Upon the Peticon of Seth Perry for liberty to build a shedd over his horsemill granted; *Provided* it be removed when found inconvenient.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 31st day of August 1687.¹

Present: His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley
W^m Stoughton
Tho^s Hinckley

John Usher
Edw: Ting
John Greene

Edw: Randolph
Francis Nicholson
Esq^{rs}

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., pp. 141, 142, for the same.

Upon reading this day in Council the Petition of John Greene Esqr to be satisfied his disbursements on his voyage to England in the service of the Government of Rhode Island amounting to sixty pounds, the same is referred to the Examination of the Judges and such of the Council as shall be at Rhode Island when they goe the Circuite there who are to direct and determine therein as they shall judge proper.

Upon reading this day in Council the Petition of Edward Ting Esqr about the Millrents granted to him by the President and Council for his care and service at Fort Loyall in Cases yet uncollected.

Ordered. That the Millrents due for the year one thousand six hundred eighty six be forthwith collected and paid to the sd Edward Ting accordingly.

And that the Treasurer do forthwith cause a particular account to be taken of all the Mills and Rents due in the said Province and take care for the effectually gathering & receiving the same in the payment of which no person to be excused, except particular order for the same.

Mr Isaack Addington presenting to this board an account for his attendance and writeing by order of the Committee appointed for revisall of Laws &c^a amounting to tenne pound nine shillings eight pence, the same was allowed & *Ordered* to be paid by the Treasurer accordingly.

Shadrach Wilbore Clerke of the Towne of Taunton being by the Messenger brought before this Board and Examined about a scandalous, factious and seditious writeing sent from the said Towne to the Treasurer in answer to his Warrant for the publicque Rate signed by him as Clerke he owned the same and declared it to be the Act of the Towne.

Ordered That the said Shadrach Wilbore be bound over to answer for the same at the next Superiour Court to be holden at Bristol.

And that in regard Justice Tho: Leonard was present at the Towne meeting when the said writeing was voted and did not hinder the same, that he be suspended from the said Office.

And that the Constables of the said Towne be likewise bound over to answer at the said Court for neglect of their duties in not obeying the Treasurers Warrant.

And that the Constables and Select Men of the said Towne doe forthwith cause the said Warrant to be fully executed.

Att a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston on Saturday the 3rd day of September 1687.¹

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t &c^a

Joseph Dudley
W^m Stoughton
Peter Bulkeley

Thos Hinckley
Waite Winthrop
John Usher
Jonath: Ting

John Greene
Edw: Randolph
Francis Nicholson
Esqrs

Ordered: That Joseph Dudley W^m Stoughton Rob^t Mason, John Usher and Edward Randolph Esqrs or any three of them whereof One

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 143, for the same.

of the Judges to be one with the Deputy Secr: do forthwith make a settlement & Regulacon of all the Fees for Courts, Offices and Officers throughout this Dominion and Reporte the same to this Board accordingly.

The Order made by the President and Councill appointing the places and times for unloading of Goods &c. is confirmed and to be observed accordingly.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 21st day of September 1687.¹

Present: His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Nath. Clarke
W ^m Stoughton	John Usher	Edw: Randolph
Robt Mason	Bartho Gedney	Francis Nicholson
Peter Bulkeley	John Hincks	Esq ^{rs}

Upon reading this day in Councill the Peticon of Nicholas Tepott and Henry Jourdain French Protestants, who lately arrived here from Plymouth in England in a small Barke with some Wines and Brandy seized by the Captⁿ of his Maj^{ty}s Friggatt

Ordered. That Mr President or any other of the Judges, Robt Mason Edw: Randolph and Francis Nicholson Esq^{rs} do examine the matter contained in the said Peticon, the Condition and necessityes of the Peticoners and their manner of comeing to this Porte and to make Reporte thereof to this Board att their next sitting.

Jacob Murrill, Joshua Bayley, William Hutchins, John Pierson, John Dresser, John Wise, Robert Kinsman, John Appletoun, John Andrews, John French, W^m Rayment and W^m Goodhue, all of the County of Essex, being committed for refusing to pay their Rates pursuant to the Treasurers Warr^t and makeing and publishing Factions & seditious votes & writeings against the same, were this day severally Examined in Councill.

Ordered. That they stand committed till they have their tryalls at Boston by speciall Commi^{on} which his Excell^{ty}e will please to issue forth the next weeke.

Benjamin Stevens, John Stevens, James Bayly, Joseph Jewett, Nathaniel Treadwell, John Whipple & John Weed being committed for the like misdemeanour & Examined

Ordered. That they be bound over in two hundred pound each with surtyes to appeare att the next Superiour Court to be holden in the County of Essex to abide their trialls and in the meane time to be of good behaviour.

Nathaniel Browne, John Bayly, Joseph Chaplin, Thos Hart, Symon Wood, John Harris, Thomas Patch, Andrew Elliott and John Sibly, being likewise apprehended for the same misdemeanour but on their

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 144. In this draft, which is incomplete, the first two clauses only are given. The rest of the record beginning with "Jacob Murrill" is omitted.

Examinacon appearing more ingenuous and lesse culpable then the others; upon their humble submission and acknowledgement were discharged paying their Fees.

Ordered That the severall writts issued forth by Mr James Cornish for the Superiour Court in the County of Hampshire be for this time Esteemed good and valide as if issued out by the proper Clerke of that Court or his Deputy.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Fryday the 23^d day of September 1687.

Present: His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Nath: Clarke
Wm Stoughton	John Usher	Edw: Randolph
Robt Mason	Barth: Gedney	Fran: Nicholson
Peter Bulkeley	John Hincks	Esqrs

The severall Townes in the County of Essex except Salem Newberry and Marble head, having neglected and refused to do their duties in choosing a Commissioner and making the lists and Assessments of their respective Inhabitants as by Law they ought.

Ordered. That Charles Bedford Esq^{re} High Sheriffe of the said County with W^m Browne, John Hawthorne and Phillip Nelson Esq^{rs} Justices of the peace within the said County or any two of them doe summons [*sic*] the Inhabitants in their respective Townes to meete together and to bring a particular account of their Estates as by Law directed, and that the Select men attend accordingly, & that they have a list made of all the male persons above sixteen yeares of age and a true estimacon of all their reall & personall Estates according to Law; and returne the same severally unto the said Treasurer with all speed. And that they also make enquiry in the severall Townes of Gloster, Haverill and Boxford and examine & binde over such persons as have beene Factionous and Seditious there and contemptuously refused to obey and execute the warrts of the Treasurer. And that the charge of this service be defrayed by the said severall Townes proporconably.

Ordered. That the Judges doe (against the meeting of the Councill tomorrow) assist and advise abt prepairing Bills to be presented on the heads following vizt

For regulateing the choice of Select Men and Towne Meetings.

For enlarging the Jurisdiction of the Inferiour Courts.

And to require Masters of Shipps to give Security.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Saturday the 24th day of September 1687.

Present: His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Nath: Clarke
Robert Mason	John Usher	Edw: Randolph
Peter Bulkley	John Hincks	Fran: Nicholson Esq ^{rs}

An Act for continueing the choice of Select Men and regulateing Towne meetings being twice read, was

Ordered to be ingrossed.

Ordered. That the Justices of the peace in the Towne of Boston or any five of them doe forthwith meete together and consider of the prices of Corne att this time for money, and how like to continue betweene this & Christmas, and thereof to make returne to this Board.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 28th day of September 1687.

Present : His Excellencye Sr. Edmond Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley	Peter Bulkley	Nath: Clarke
Wm Stoughton	John Usher	Edw: Randolph
Robert Mason	John Hincks	Fran: Nicholson Esq ^{rs}

Upon reading this day in Councill the Peticon of John Marsh of Newberry about a new Ferry from Newbury to Salisbury to be kept by him neere his dwelling. As alsoe the Peticon of James Carr of Salisbury about his right to the Swing bridge and old Ferry there.

Referred to the Justices of the Peace in the County of Essex to examine the offers and allegacons of both the Peticoners and forthwith to reporte to this Board what they conceive therein to be most suitable and convenient for Travellers and the publike service of the Country.

Upon reading this day in Councill the Peticon of Nath^l Weare to be releived against an Execution issued out in the late Government of New Hampshire for a fine of fifty pounds then sett upon him on pretence for imbezzling the Records and now given to the Sheriff to levy.

Ordered, That in regard the said Execucōn hath beene so long time since issued forth and not yet served it be suspended untill the allegacons be Examined by the Judges at their next Circuite into those parts and reporte made thereof to this Board.

On the Peticon of John Fletcher for the same matter the like order was given.

Upon reading this day in Councill the Peticon of Samuella Walker for liberty to make and cure his Fish on Stratton Island, in the Province of Maine, where he hath built a house and made a Stage and Flakes.

Ordered. That a copy of his Peticon be sent to Joshua Scottow, and that he forthwith make appeare what title he hath to the said Island, and that in the meane time he give no disturbance to the said Walker or Agents in their Fishery on said Island untill his title be approved and allowed.

Upon reading the Reporte made by the Judges & others of the Councill on the Peticon of Nicholas Tepott & Henry Jourdainne,

Deferred untill Captaine Georges arrivall & that he be heard therein and that on security, the wine and Brandy may be Landed and such parte disposed of for the present necessity of the Peticoners as shall be allowed by any one of the Judges.

Upon reading the Reporte made by the Justices of the Peace of Boston pursueant to an Order of this Board the last day, concerning the prices of Corne for money.

Ordered. That the currant prices of Corne in payment of the publike rates be as followeth, vizt; Wheate, four shillings p^r Bushell, Rye two

shillings eight pence, merchantable Indian Corne one shill. eight pence, Pease three shill: sixpence, Oates one shill: four pence, Mault and Barley att three shillg^s

Att a Councill held att the Council Chamber in Boston on Fryday the 30th day of September 1687.

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Edw: Randolph
W ^m Stoughton	John Hincks	Fran: Nicholson
Robt Mason	John Albro	Esq ^{rs}

Upon reading the Peti^{ti}on of Mr Symon Lynds of Boston Merch^t praying his Majestyes confirma^{ti}on of a certaine farme on Paucatuck neck in Kings Province, of which he hath long beene possessed and is improved contelning about seven hundred seventy four acres, with the addi^{ti}on of vacant Land thereto adjoyning to make the said Farme one thousand or twelve hundred acres.

Ordered. That it be granted to him accordingly with an addi^{ti}on to make up the whole one thousand acres.

Upon reading this day in Councill the Peti^{ti}on of Alsoe Adams the Reliq & Administratrix of Willm Adams late of Dedham Decd praying shee may be enabled to make a conveyance of a house and ground to one W^m Hunt of Weymouth, which was conveyed to her said husband in trust for him.

Ordered. That shee be and is hereby authorized accordingly.

Upon reading the Reporte of Francis Hooke & Charles Frost on the Peti^{ti}on of Suball Dummer, for confirma^{ti}on of certeine Lands in his possession as alsoe the peti^{ti}on of John Alcock thereon.

Ordered. That all parties concerned have notice & attend the hearing on the 1st Wednesday in Nov^r next.

Mr Dudley Broadstreet Commi^{ss}oner for the Towne of Andover being Committed to the Custody of the Messenger for neglecting and refusing to discharge his duty with the other Commi^{ss}oners in examineing compleating & returning the rates and assessments of his Towne; upon his Examina^{ti}on confessing, that what he did was pursueant to the directions and Instructions he had from his Towne; was *Ordered* to stand committed till further Examina^{ti}on.

Att a Councill held att Boston Wednesday the 5th day of Oct^r 1687.

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c.

William Stoughton	Barn: Lathrop	Fran: Nicholson
Robert Mason	John Hincks	Esq ^{rs}
John Usher	Edw: Randolph	

Upon reading the Peti^{ti}on of Edward Calley and Tho: Dunston setting forth that about six hundred and forty peeces of eight, about tenne or twelve ounces of plate, three Gold Buckles, two Rings and a parcell of Stones selzed on board the Ketch Sparrow belonged to them and praying they may be restored.

Referred to W^m Stoughton, Robert Mason, John Usher Edw: Randolph & Francis Nicholson Esq^{rs} or any three, whereof the said Stoughton or Mason to be one to examine and reporte the same.

The Peticon of John Wickes and Roger Burlingham for themselves and Associates, about a scire facias sued out against them by the Partners and Associates of W^m Harris late deced about the title to certaine Lands att Nahantatato, was *Referred* to Mr President to doe therein as shall be proper.

Mr Dudley Broadstreete beeing again brought before this Board acknowledged his greate imprudence and folly in being misledd by the Direccons and Instructions he received from his Towne to the neglect of his duty humbly submitting himselfe to the mercy and favour of the Board.

Ordered. That he be discharged from the Messenger on giving security in Recognizance of one thousand pounds for his appearance att the next superiour Court att Salem and in the meantime to be of his good behaviour.

Major Samuell Appleton of Ipswich being likewise committed into the Custody of the Messenger on suspicion of being concerned in the late disorders and Tumults in the County of Essex and now brought before this Board, prayed to be discharged refusing to answer what demanded of him.

Ordered. That he stand committed to the Messenger untill further Examinacon.

Att a Councill held on Wednesday the 19th October 1687.

Present: His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Kn^t &c.

W ^m Stoughton	Nath: Clarke	Edw: Randolph
John Usher	Richard Arnold	Francis Nicholson, Esq ^{rs}

John Osgood, Samuell Howlett and John Hovey of the County of Essex being apprehended and brought before this Board to answer for the contemptuously refusing to make their Rates pursuant to the Treasurers Warrant and makeing and publishing factious and seditious votes and writeings against the same and thereupon being severally examined.

Ordered. That they give security by Recognizance in five hundred pounds each, to appeare at the next Sup^r Court att Salem, and in the meane time to be of their good behaviour.

Christopher Osgood being likewise apprehended to answer for the same misdemeanour but on his examinacon appearing more ingenuous and lesse faulty then the others, upon his humble submission and acknowledgement was *Ordered* to be discharged paying his Fees.

Major¹ Samuell Appleton of Ipswich committed to the Custody of

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 213. The order was signed by "John West, Sect." "That this is a true Copple of the order of Councel by wch Mr Appleton (now under my Custody as Messenger) is to be discharged. Witnesseth. Thomas Larking"

a Messenger for being a factious and seditious person and disaffected to the Government and now brought before the Council for further Examination

Ordered. That he continue committed untill he give sufficient surety by Recognizance in the summe of one thousand pounds to appeare att the next Superiour Court to be holden att Salem to answer what shall be objected against him and in the meane time to be of good behaviour.

Att a Council holden att Boston on Saturday the 22nd Oct^r 1687.

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmund Andros Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley	Walter Newbury	Fran: Nicholson
W ^m Stoughton	Nath: Clarke	Esqr ^s
John Usher	Edw: Randolph	

His Excellency acquainting the Council with Orders he had received from his Majestye about Connecticott annexed to this Government.

Advised and Resolved. That his Excellency doe goe in person or send about the latter end of next weeke to take the said place under his Government pursuant to the said Orders with such of the Council or other persons, Guards and attendance as he shall think fitt; of which to give notice to Governour Treate and Secretary Allen.

Upon reading the Reporte made by W^m Stoughton Esqr, and others of the Council on the Peticon of Edward Calley and Thomas Dunston.

Ordered, that the Treasurer doe restore to them the money, plate, Buckles, Rings and Stones by them petitioned for.

Att a Council held att the Council Chamber in Boston on Tuesday the 25th October 1687.

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Nath. Clarke
W ^m Stoughton	Walter Newbury	Edw: Randolph
Robt Mason	Jonath: Ting	Fran: Nicholson Esqr ^s

Upon reading a letter from Captⁿ John George in answer to an Order of this Board of the 28th of September past, upon Reporte of the Judges and others of the Council on the Peticon of Nicholas Tepott and Henry Jourdain, about a French shipp seized.

Ordered. That the Superiour Court in this County being past and no prosecucon, she be effectually proceeded against att the next Superiour Court at Salem.

Upon reading the Reporte made by the Justices of Essex about a New ferry from Newbury to Salisbury allowed off to be kept and maintained by John Marsh of Newbury if James Carr of Salisbury on notice refuse to keep the same; the Justices to lay out the wayes and case-way and regulate the Ferry and take security for the making thereof and keeping in good repaire.

Ordered. That the Treasurer doe take care to defray the expence and charge of his Excellencies journey to Connecticut.

Att a Councill held att Hartford on Tuesday the first day of Novr 1687.

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt &ca

Joseph Dudley	John Fitz Winthrop	Barth: Gidney	
W ^m Stoughton	John Usher	Edw: Ting	
Robt Mason	John Pincheon		Esqrs

His Excellency pursuant to the Orders & Commands he had received from his Maj^{ty} being come to take that Collony under his Government as annexed to the Dominion of New England, advised what way proper further to proceede to effect the same accordingly.

Resolved. That Robert Treat Esqre Governour of the said Collony and John Allyn Esqre Secretary be sent for to attend his Excellency in Councill and that his Majestyes said Commands be first communicated to them; Pursuant to the said Resolve the said Governour and Secretary came and to them was signified by his Excellency his Majestyes Commands for that Collony and for the further publication of his Majestyes said Commands it was *Advised and Resolved* that the said Governour and Magistrates doe forthwith attend on his Excellency & Councill and bring with them such persons as they shall think fitt to heare his Majestyes said Commands.

Before noone the said Governour and Magistrates attending on his Excellency att his Lodging they altogether went from thence to the publique Court house where his Excellency publiqly signified the occasion of his comeing and commanded his Majestyes Letters Pattents for the Government of New England and his Maj^{ties} Orders to his Excellency for annexing the said Collony to this Dominion of New England and to take the same under his Government to be publiqly read, which was done accordingly.

His Excellency after repeated the substance of what had beene read and shewed how Gracious his Majestye had beene to his subjects of Connecticut telling them, that they were now intituled to all the Grace and favours contained in the said Letters Pattents, and that the former Authority & Gen^l Court of that Collony was dissolved, and the said Collony annexed to the Dominion of New England accordingly.

Pursuant to his Majestyes Commands Robt Treat Esqr the late Govr of Connecticut and John Allen Esqr the late Sec^{ty} were sworne of his Maj^{ties} Councill.

Att a Councill held att the Towne house in Hartford on Wednesday the 2^d day of November 1687.

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt &ca

Joseph Dudley	John Pincheon	Robert Treat	
W ^m Stoughton	John Fitz Winthrop	John Allen	
Robt Mason	Barth: Gidney		Esqrs
John Usher	Jonath. Ting		

His Excellency in Councill was pleased to nominate and appoint the persons hereafter named to be Justices of the Peace and Sherriffes for

the respective Countyes following, for whome Commissions are ordered to be prepared accordingly. vizt

For the County of Hartford.

John Talcott	} Quor.	} Justices of the Peace.
Sam ^l Willis		
Humph : Davye		
Gershom Bulkeley		
Benj : Newberry		
John Wadesworth		
Sam ^l Talcott		
Gyles Hamblin		
John Chester		

Phineas Wilson Sherriffe.

For the County of New London.

Edward Palmes	} Quor.	} Justices of the Peace.
James Fitch		
Sam ^l Mason		
George Denison		
Daniell Witherby		
John Chapman		
Matthew Grizell		

Richard Edgecombe Sheriffe.

For the County of Newhaven.

Will ^m Jones	} Quor.	} Justices of the peace.
James Bishop		
Will ^m Roswell		
Andrew Leete		
Tho : Trowbridge		
Rich : Bryant		
John Beard		

John Hudson Sheriffe.

For the County of Fairefield.

Nathan Gold	} Quor.	} Justices of the peace.
Jonathan Sellick		
Sam ^l Sherman		
Joseph Haley		
John Burr		
Joseph Judson		
Tho : Fitch		
Jonath : Lockwood		

Will^m Sydenham Sheriffe.

Upon the motion of John Allen Esq^{re} one of the members of the Board, that the rate lately appointed by the Generall Court of Connecticut for payment of the Country debts may be raised and applied to that use.

Ordered. That an account be taken of the Country Debts, and what the said Rate may amount to, and that the same be collected and applied to satisfye the same accordingly.

His Excellencye travelled from Hartford to Fairfield saw the Justices of the Peace in their respective Countyes and Sheriffes sworne, Com-missionated Military Officers in each Towne and Custome Officers in the severall sea Ports.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Saturday the nineteenth Nov^r 1687.

Present : His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &ca

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Fran : Nicholson
W ^m Stoughton	Barth : Gidney	Esq ^{rs}
Robert Mason	Edw : Randolph	

Ordered. That Thursday the first day of Dec^r next ensueing be solemnly and Publicly kept & observed in all Townes and places within this his Majestyes Dominion of New England as a day of praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for his Majestyes health (whom God long preserve to Reigne over us) & his many Royall favours bestowed on his subjects here & for all other blessings and mercyes of health, plenty, &ca

Ordered. That a Bill be prepared to inforce the observance of the severall Lawes lately passed by his Excy^e and Councill in the late Collony of Connecticott now annexed to this Dominion and for settling the times of the Courts of Judicature there.

A Paper presented to his Excellencye by Doctor John Clarke, containing severall seditious expressions delivered by Mr Charles Morton Minister at Charlestowne in a Searmon Preached by him on a lecture day there being read in Councill.

Ordered. That the said Mr Clarke and Mr Charles Morton do attend this Board on Wednesday next.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 23^d day of November 1687.

Present : His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &ca

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Edw : Randolph
W ^m Stoughton	John Usher	Fran : Nicholson
Rob ^t Mason	Barth : Gidney	Esq ^{rs}

An Act declareing the former Laws made by the Gov^r and Councill of force in Connecticott annexed and for settling the times and places of Courts there being read. *Ordered.* That the Titles of the severall Acts be particularly inserted and the same brought in the next meeting of the Councill.

An Act for continueing the Choice of Select men & regulateing Towne-meetings being read as Ingrossed after some amendments, was *Ordered* to be new Ingrossed and brought in the next Meeting of the Councill.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Thursday the 24th day of November 1687.

Present : His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &ca

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Fran : Nicholson
W ^m Stoughton	John Usher	Esq ^{rs}
Robert Mason	Edw : Randolph	

An Act for continueing the choice of Selectmen and regulateing Townemeetings being new Ingrossed was againe read but objected agst & could not passe.

- ∴ Doct^r Clarke and Mr Morton appearing pursuant to the Order of this Board, the said Morton was Examined about what he was charged by Doct^r Clarke to have delivered in a Sermon att Charlestowne the second of September past, parte whereof he denyed and seemed to evade or excuse other parte.

The said Clarke being likewise Examined affirmed to the truth of what he had charged him with and was contained in the paper by him presented to his Excellency upon his Oath.

Ordered. That the said Charles Morton be bound over to appeare att the next Superiour Court in five hundred pounds, and that he be prosecuted for the same by informaçon on his Majestyes behalfe.

James Atkins being committed by Captⁿ Nicholson for spreading lyeing and false news and Reports

Ordered. That he be proceeded against for the same att the next Sessions.

Liberty is granted to the French Congregation to meete in the Latine Schoolhouse att Boston as desired.

- Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 30th day of November 1687.

Present : His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Barn : Lathrop
Wm Stoughton	John Usher	Edw : Randolph
Robert Mason	John Walley	Fran : Nicholson Esq ^{rs}

Upon reading the Petition of Anthony Chickley

Ordered. That the causes depending in Chancery betweene him and Joshua Scottow and Humphrey Davye be heard on this day sevensnight.

Ordered. That the Justices of the peace in the severall Countyes, Townes and precincts throughout this Dominion doe provide for the necessary releife and maintinance of the Poore in each Towne in such manner as by the Laws and Statutes of England is directed.

Upon informaçon given by the Messenger, that Major Samuell Appleton hath not attended the last order of this Board.

Ordered. That he be committed to the custody of the Sherriffe, there to remaine untill he give security in one thousand pounds for his good behaviour, and to appeare att next Salem Court & pay his Fees &c^a ¹

¹ In *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., p. 301, is found the following: "Att a Councill held at ye Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday y^e 30th. of Nov^r 1687. present: His Excellency Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c. Joseph Dudley, Wm Stoughton, Robt. Mason, Waite Winthrop, John Usher, John Walley, Barnabas Lathrop, Edw: Randolph, Jfr: Nicholson, Esqr. Whereas by an order of this board y^e 19th of Nov^r past, it was ordered y^e Maj^r Sam^l Appleton y^e in the custody of y^e Messenger should stand Committed untill he gives sufficient security to appeare at y^e next Superiour Court to be holden at Salem in the County of Essex and in the meanetime to be of his good behavior and whereas Informations hath been this day given to this board by Tho: Larkin Messenger y^e y^e sd Sam^l Appleton hath refused to Comply wth y^e sd order, but is still in his Custody and that he is and hath been at greate charge & trouble to looke after & provide for him for which he also refuseth to pay

Att a Councill held att Boston on Fryday the 2^d day of December 1687.

Present : His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Edw : Randolph
W ^m Stoughton	John Usher	Fran : Nicholson
Robert Mason	John Walley	Esq ^{rs}

Upon reading a Letter received by his Excellencye from Gov^r Dongan att Albany, dated the eighteenth Nov^r past desireing assistance of Souldiers &c. against an invasion said to be made by the French on his Majestyes Governmt of New Yorke.

Advised and Resolved. That an answer be returned to Governour Dongan by his Excellencye signifying the receipt of his, and his Excellencyes readinesse to assist him with such force as this Government can afford when his Majtyes service shall require it; and to know how far he is engaged or what else particularly may be of advantage for his Majestyes service.

Att a Councill held att Boston the 19th day of December 1687.

Present : His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Edw : Randolph
Robert Mason	John Usher	Fran : Nicholson Esq ^{rs}

Upon reading the Peticon of Joseph Dudley & W^m Stoughton for confir^macon of a certaine Tract of Land in the Nipmug Countrey of the contents of eight miles square formerly granted to them and Major Robert Thompson by the late Generall Court.

Ordered. That the same be granted to them and Dr. Daniell Cox as desired.

Upon reading the Peticon of Joseph Dudley for Confir^macon of certaine houses and Lands whereof he is possessed lyeing in Roxbury and other parts mentioned in a list annexed.

Ordered. That the same be granted accordingly.

Upon reading the Peticon of Nicholas Page and Anna his Wife for confir^macon of severall houses and Lands in Boston and Rumney Marsh

Granted accordingly.

Upon reading the Peticon of John Gifford for confir^macon of two hundred and sixty acres of Land in the Towne of Lynn.

him any fees, or other satisfaction, praying y^e if y^e board thinck fitt he may be elsewhere secured. It is therefore ordered y^t s^d Sam^l Appleton be by y^e s^d Messinger delivered into y^e Custody of y^e Sheriffe of y^e County of Suffolk where by warrant from this board he is to remaine and be kept in y^e common Goale, untill he give sufficient security in a thousand Pounds for his good behaviour untill y^e next Superiour Court to be holden at Salem afores^d & for his appearance at y^e s^d Courte & pay y^e Messingers fees & charges afores^d

By order in Councill
John West D. Secty [not West's
signature]

Ordered That notice thereof be given in the said Towne, that if any others lay Clayme thereto, they may bring in the same. ¹

Upon reading the severall Petitions of George Dansen and Charles Crosswalte for Grants of Land in the Towne of Worcester.

Ordered. That Captⁿ Wing have notice thereof and attend next Councill day if he hath anything to object against the same.

Upon reading the Petition of Malachi Holloway for confirmacon of one hundred and fifty acres of Land lyeing beyond Wadeing River in the Towne of Dorchester

Ordered. That notice thereof be given in the said Towne that if any others lay Clayme thereto they may bring in the same.

Upon reading the Petition of Captⁿ Rich^d Martin for confirmacon of his house and ground in Charlestowne

Granted accordingly.

Upon reading the Petition of Edward Ting Esq^r for confirmacon of severall parcells of Land in the Province of Maine.

Granted accordingly.

Upon reading the Petition of Richard Thayre for a Grant of Land neere Puncapauge Pond.

Ordered. That it be surveyed and disposed as his Excellencye shall think fitt.

Upon reading the Petition of Captⁿ Silvanus Davies for confirmacon of severall parcells of Land in the Province of Maine, *Granted.*

Upon reading the Petition of Vines Ellicott for a Grant of Hogg Island in Casco Bay.

Granted.

Upon reading the Petition of Edward Shippen for confirmacon of severall houses and Ground in Boston whereof he is possessed.

Granted.

Upon reading the Petition of Roger Clap for confirmacon of five hundred Acres of Land in Dorchester.

Granted.

Upon reading the Petition of Captⁿ Benjamin Davies for Confirmacon of severall houses, Warehouses & Ground in Boston whereof he is possessed.

Granted accordingly.

Att a Councill held att Boston on Tuesday the 20th day of Dec^r 1687.

Present: His Excellencye St^r Edmond Andros Knt &c^a

Joseph Dudley
Robert Mason

Waite Winthrop
John Usher

Edw: Randolph
Fran: Nicholson Esq^r

An Act declareing the severall Lawes made by the Gov^r and Councill to be in force in Connecticott &c. and

¹ See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 294. This order is signed by "John West D. Sec^y." Also *Ibid.*, vol. CXXIX., p. 12. Also *Ibid.*, vol. CXXIX., p. 75.

An Act for enlarging the Jurisdiction of the Inferiour Courts being read.

Ordered. That they be putt into one and brought in the next meeting of the Councill.

Att a Councill held att Boston on Tuesday the 21st day of Decr 1687.

Present: His Excellencye Sir Edmund Andros Knt &ca

Joseph Dudley	Waite Winthrop	Fran: Nicholson
William Stoughton	John Usher	Esqrs
Robert Mason	Edw: Randolph	

An Act declareing the severall Lawes made by the Governour and Councill to be in force in Connecticott; and for settling Courts being read.

Ordered. That the same be ingrossed.

Att a Councill held in Boston on Fryday the three & twentyeth day of December 1687.

Present: His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &ca

William Stoughton	Waite Winthrop	Edw: Randolph
Robert Mason	John Usher	Fran: Nicholson Esqrs

Upon reading the Peticon of Robert Orchard, praying redresse for injuries sustained by the late Governour and Company of the Massachusetts, and his Majestyes letter to his Excellencye relateing thereunto, dated the 30th July past.

Ordered. That the case of the said Robert Orchard be recommended to the Judges of the severall Courts, that speedy right and Justice be done him therein.

Att a Councill held in Boston on Tuesday the 27th day of December 1687.

Present: His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &ca

Joseph Dudley	Peter Bulkley	Edw: Randolph
Wm Stoughton	Waite Winthrop	Fran: Nicholson
Robt Mason	John Usher	Esqrs

An Act declareing the severall Lawes made by the Governour and Councill to be in force in Connecticott and for settling Courts there being read and Ingrossed.

Ordered. That the Superiour Courts in Essex and Middx be reduced to two Circutes in the yeare and so inserted in the said Act.

Att a Councill held in Boston on Thursday the 29th day of Decr 1687.

Present: His Excellencye Sr Edmond Andros Knt &ca

Joseph Dudley	Peter Bulkley	Edw: Randolph
Wm Stoughton	John Usher	Wm Bradford
Robt Mason	Barth: Gidney	Fran: Nicholson Esqrs

An Act declareing the severall Lawes made in force in Connecticott and for settling Courts together with a Clause for lessening the often holding of the Superiour Court in the Countyes of Middlesex and

Essex,¹ being read and the said clause approved and added to the said Act the same was passed.

The above written are true Coppins—Examined

Pr John West D. Secry :

I Robert Lemon Chief Clerk in Her Majesty's State Paper Office, London, do hereby Declare that this Transcript of the Minutes of the Council of Massachusetts Bay in New England from the 20th of December 1686 to the 29th of December 1687 inclusive, is a true Copy from the Originals preserved in the State Paper Office.

Witness my hand this 16th day of September in the Year of Our Lord One thousand Eight Hundred and Forty Six.

Robt Lemon.

I hereby Certify that Mr Robert Lemon made the above Declaration and signed the same in my presence this 16th day of September 1846.

J. McHenry Boyd,

Chargé d'affaires ad interim
of the United States, London

¹ In the printed *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, vol. III., p. 492 *et seq.*, is found an account of the laws enacted by Governor Andros and his Council, and transmitted to Connecticut as part of the Dominion of New England. On the 29th of December, 1687, and in March, May, June and August of the next year, the following Acts were verified by John West, Deputy Secretary: "1. An Act for the continuing and establishing of severall Rates, Duties and Imposts; 2. An Act establishing Courts of Judicature and Publique Justice; 3. An Act empowering Justices of the Peace to decide differences not exceeding Forty shillings; 4. An Act against Pirates, and for prevention of Piracy; 5. An Act settling the value of Pieces of Eight; 6. An Act for regulating the Assize of Cask, and preventing deceit in Packing of Fish, Beef and Pork for sale; 7. An Act for the regulation of Cattle, Corn Fields and Fences; 8. An Act for the due regulation of Weights and Measures; 9. An Act for destroying of Wolves; 10. An Act for regulating the purchase of Lands from Indians; 11. An Act for Probate of Wills and granting Letters of Administration; 12. An Act for regulating the Fishing trade and Fishermen; and one other act intituled, 13. An Act for making of Barrells, Kilderkins, and other Vessells used for Ale or Beer and Syder, and for regulating the Assize of Boards."

Almost all of the above Acts, engrossed on parchment, signed by Governor Andros, some bearing the signature of Edward Randolph, Secretary, the others that of John West, Deputy Secretary, are at the State House in Boston.

On the same day, the 29th of December, 1687, the details in regard to holding Courts in Connecticut, mentioned in the last entry of the *Council Records of Massachusetts*, vol. II., given above, were arranged, and the number of Courts to be held in Middlesex and Essex was diminished. A Court of Sessions was ordered to be held at Hartford on the first Wednesdays of March, June, September and December; at New London on the second Wednesdays; at New Haven on the third Wednesdays, and at Fairfield on the fourth Wednesdays. An Inferior Court of Pleas was established for the same towns and counties, and also a Superior Court of Judicature to be held twice a year. The jurisdiction of the several Inferior Courts of Pleas, in the Dominion of New England, was extended to all cases "personal and mixed wherein title of land is not concerned, to any sum or value whatever." Right of appeal maintained. The Superior Courts to be held in Middlesex and Essex twice a year. In the County of Middlesex on the first Tuesdays of May and November; in the County of Essex on the first Wednesdays of March and September. At Portsmouth on the following Mondays after the Essex Courts.

Probably the "Act concerning Peddlers," which prohibited them from going from town to town, found in *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, vol. III., pp. 435, 436, was passed in the latter part of 1687 or in the beginning of 1688.

The Council Meetings which follow are taken principally from the unpublished Massachusetts Archives, as they have not been found at the State Paper Office in London, while the printed Colonial Records of Connecticut mention some not found elsewhere. It is more than probable that the records of other meetings have been lost.

Att a Councill &c. 4th Jan. 1687[8]¹

Att a Councill held in Boston on fryday the third day of february 1687[8].²

Present: His Exc^{tye} S^r Edmund Andros Knt^t &c.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Edw ^d Randolph
Will Stoughton	Barth: Gidney	Fran: Nicholson
Rob ^t Mason	John Hincks	Sam ^l Shrimpton
Tho ^s Hinckley	Nath ^l Clarke	Will Browne Esq ^{rs}

Upon reading this day in Councill the peti^{con} of Edward Randolph therein praying his Majestyes grant of a certaine part of vacant Land lyeing nigh the Towne of Lynn in the County of Essex comonly called Nahant neck & conteyning about five hundred Acres,

Ordered³ that the constables of said Towne or either of them on receipt hereof doe give publique notice in the said Towne of Lynn that if any person or persons have any Clayme or Pretence to the said Land they appeare before his Exc^{ty} the Govern^r in Councill on Wednesday the seventh of march next then and there to shew forth the same and why the said Land may not be granted to the Peti^{coner} as desired and that they faile not therein and to make due returne.

By order in Councill &c.

John West D. Sec^{ry}.

Att a Councill held at the Councill Chamber in Boston y^e 3^d day of february 1687[8].⁴

Present: His Exc^{tye} S^r Edmund Andros Knt^t etc.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Edw ^d Randolph
W ^m Stoughton	Barth: Gidney	fran: Nicholson
Rob ^t Mason	John Hincks	Sam ^l Shrimpton
Tho: Hinckley	Nath: Clarke	W ^m Browne Esq ^{rs}

Forasmuch as the severall Orders formerly made for taking an account

¹ See *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, vol. III., p. 401. The late Treasurer of Connecticut was ordered to collect the taxes due, and pay the Colony debts properly certified. Executions upon former judgments were ordered to be issued, while pending causes were to be tried in the new Courts of the Dominion.

² Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 173. Printed in *Edward Randolph*, Prince Society, vol. IV., p. 201.

³ Endorsed on the order is the following: "Received this order from the hands of Jeremiah Belcher the 2^d day of this instant March 1687 and attending thereunto have given publique notice of the matter ordered therein this 5th day of March &c. by me John Edmonds Constable in Lynn"—See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVII., p. 173.

⁴ Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVIII., p. 36. Printed in *Edward Randolph*, Prince Society, Vol. IV., p. 206.

of the publique Records of the late Massathusetts Collony have not beene attended that the same might be putt into the Secryes Custody and all persons have recourse to them as Occasion Ordered that Mr Isaac Addington and Mr John Herbert Coward be and are hereby desired and authorized in the presence of Mr Edward Randolph Secry and Mr Edward Rawson the late Secry or some one in his behalfe to take an account in writeing of all the said Records and that they beginn the same on Tuesday next and continue day by day about the same till compleated and that then all the said Records be delivered into the hands and Custody of the said Secry and the account thereof by them taken forthwith returned to this board under their hands.

By order in Councill etc.

John West D. Secry.

Boston Council Chamber, on Wednesday, the 15th of February, in the 4th year of his Majesty's reign Annoque Domini, 1687[8].¹

At a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the nyue and Twentryeth of february 1687[8].²

Present: His Excellency Sr Edmd Andros Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Francis Nicholson
John Winthrop	John Greene	Samuell Shrimpton
Waite Winthrop	Edward Randolph	Esqrs

Upon Reading this day in Councill the Peticon of Edward Randolph Esqre praying his Majesties Grant of a Certaine Tract of vacant and unappropriated Land Containing about Seaven Hundred Acres Lyeing betweene Spy Pond and Saunders Brooke neere Watertowne in the County of Middx.

Ordered, That the Sheriffe of the said County Doe forthwith after Receipt hereof give Publique Notice both in Cambridge and Watertowne that if any person or p'sons have any Clayme or p'tence to the said Land they appeare before his Excellency the Governour in Councill On Wednesday the Seaventh of March next then and there to shew forth the same and why the said Land may not be granted to the Peticonr as desired of wch he is not to faile; and to make due Returne.

By Ord^r in Councill &c.

John West D. Secy

¹ See *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, vol. III., pp. 433, 434, 435. "An Act for additional Duties of Imports and Excise, for the better collecting and securing his Majesty's Revenue." The duties and excise on Wines, Brandy, etc. were increased. The names of the ports where goods should be loaded were also given: Verified by John West, Dept. Secretary." The original Act, on parchment, is at the State House in Boston.

² Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVIII., p. 56. Printed in *Edward Randolph*, vol. IV., p. 207.

In virtue of this Order Notice is given to y^e p'sons concerned 5 March 87-8 p^r sam^l Cookin Shill. *Massachusetts Archives* *ibid.*

March 4 Mos. S. mmd: This warrant was sent up from Boston to Camb. on y^e fourth day morning by a boate, wch was an unusuall thing in y^e place to see y^e fourth day so prophaned & a warrant posted up on y^e meeting house to give notice" *Massachusetts Archives* *ibid.*, p. 68.

M^d In Councill Feb. 29th 1687 [8].¹

An Act for regulatēing y^e Choice of Selectmen

Peticoⁿ of Sam^l [Niles?]

W^m Veasey

Jn^o Cleverley

} For land at Branetry

Peticoⁿ of W^m Burrows to have his bond up.

Peticoⁿ of Nath^l Page for Land in Dorchester

Peticoⁿ of Sa^l Walker & al for Land att Saco.

Mr Hinks Pattent for Land.

Att a Councill held att y^e Councill Chamber in Boston on Tuesday y^e 6th day of March 1687 [8].²

p^rsent His Excellēy Sr Edm^d Andros Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley

W^m Stoughton

Jn^o Winthrop

Waite Winthrop

Jn^o Usher

Jn^o Lathrop

Nath^l Clarke

Rich^d Arnold

Edw^d Randolph

fran. Nicholson

Esq^{rs}

Upon Reading this day in Councill y^e Reporte made by Edw^d Randolph Sec^y, Edw^d Rawson, Isaack Addington & Jn^o Herbert Coward together with y^e account by them taken of y^e publique Records of y^e late Massachusetts Collony pursuant to an Ord^r of this Board bearing Date y^e 3rd of February past.

Ordered that y^e Records be forthwith taken into y^e Custody & Charge of y^e Sec^y & kept with y^e other Records of this Dominion in the Sec^ys office where all p^rsons may have recourse to them as occasion [may require?] & that y^e key hitherto Kept by Mr Rawson of y^e place where y^e Records are be forthwith delivered to y^e Sec^y.

By order in Councill.

Att a Councill held att y^e Councill Chamber in Boston on Thursday y^e 6th day of March 1687 [8].²

p^rsent: His Excellēy Sr Edm^d Andros Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley

W^m Stoughton

Jn^o Winthrop

Waite Winthrop

Jn^o Usher

Barn: Lathrop

Nath^l Clarke

Rich^d Arnold

Edw^d Randolph

fran. Nicholson

Esq^{rs}

The Peticoⁿ of Mr Edward Rawson being this day read praying to be Considered for his trouble & time spent & Employed in sorteing & takeing an account of y^e publique Records of y^e late Massachusetts Colony.

Ordered that the Sum^e of ten pounds be payd him by y^e treasurer out of his Mat^{ies} treasury as a Gratuity for y^e said service.

Mr Isaac Addington & Mr Jn^o Herbert Coward praying this board to be allowed y^e Sum^e of £3: 9s: 9d. for their trouble Attendance & Ex-

¹ This draft is found in *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVIII., p. 68.

² Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVI., p. 238. Printed in *Edward Randolph*, Prince Society, vol. IV., p. 210.

³ Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVIII., p. 82. Printed in *Edward Randolph*, Prince Society, vol. IV., p. 208.

pences in sorteing & takeing an Account of ye Publique Records of ye Late Massathusetts Collony p'suant to an Ord^r of this board as by their acct^t p'sented. Ordered that ye said Sum^e be allowed them & payd by ye treasurer out of his Maties treasury accordingly.

Upon heareing ye Peticon of Edw^d Randolph Esq^r praying an Ord^r for ye Sum^e of £47: 10: 9 being for his trouble Charges & Expences in travelling from Boston to Bristoll & there Removeing & Secureing ye halfe parte of ye Silver & plate Imported in ye Brigantine Supply W^m Burrowes Mar from ye Wrecke for his Maties use & bringing ye same by Land to Boston afforss^d as by his acct thereof likewise p'sented w^{ch} this board takeing into Considera^on doe allow ye same & Order that ye s^d sum^e of £47: 10: 9 be forthwith payed him out of his Maties mony received for his Maties use as afores^d

Upon heareing ye Peticon of Edw^d Randolph Esq^r praying an Allowance of ye Sum^e of 10^{li} ye value of his horse lost on a Journey to Hartford in July 1686 & eight pounds more for his Expences being for his Maties service w^{ch} this board takeing into Considera^on doe Order that ye Sum^e of 15^{li} be payed unto him by ye treasurer of his Maties treasury for his horse and Expences on s^d Journy.

Council Chamber in Boston, on Saturday the 17th day of March 1687 [8], in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James the second.¹

Council Chamber in Boston, 24th of March, in the 4th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James the second, Annoque Domini 1687 [8].²

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday ye 30th May 1688.³

¹ See *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, vol. III., pp. 427, 428, 429. At this meeting was passed "An Act for regulating the Choice of Select men, Constables and other Officers in the respective Towns within this Dominion." Only one town meeting a year was to be permitted. "That from henceforth it shall not be lawful for the inhabitants of any town within this Dominion to meet or convene themselves together at a town meeting, upon any pretence or colour whatsoever, but at the times before mentioned and appointed for the choice of town officers as aforesaid." Any one refusing to accept the office of Constable was made liable to pay a fine of five pounds. A Commissioner to levy taxes, by warrant from the Treasurer, was to be selected by the inhabitants of each town. This Act was verified on 17 March 1687 [8] by "John West D. Secretary."

² See *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, vol. III., pp. 429, 430, 431, 432, 433. "An Act for setting the Militia." All above sixteen years of age were to serve, except certain enumerated persons including members of the Council, justices of the Peace, Court officers, ministers, president, officers and students of Harvard College, schoolmasters, physicians, etc. The Act was verified by "John West, Dep. Sec." The original Act, on parchment, is at the State House in Boston. There were probably other meetings between the 24th of March and the 30th of May.

³ Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVIII., p. 222. The same is found in *ibid.*, p. 201. In this record are added the words "John West. D. Secy."

p^resent: His Excellency Sr^t Edm^d Andros Knt^t &c.

Joseph Dudley	Jn ^o Usher	Edw ^d Randolph
W ^m Stoughton	Bartholomew Gidney	Francis Nicholson
Waite Winthrop	Walter Newberry	W ^m Browne Esq ^r

Upon heareing the Peti^con of Nicholas Inglesby Commander of ye Barke Rose of Boston lately returned from the Wrecke Setting forth that he hath p^rformed ye Condicon of his bond given & fully satisfied & payd his Maties dues & therefore prayed his s^d bond may be delivered up unto him Its Referred to M^r treasurer with any two or more of ye Councill in towne to Examine the s^d allegacons & make Reporte thereon accordingly.

By order in Councill &c.

Att a Councill held at ye Councill Chamber in Boston on Wednesday ye 30th day of May 1688.¹

p^resent: His Excellency Sr^t Edmund Andros Knt^t &c.

Forasmuch as by severall writeings undr ye hands of Lieut Coll. Jn^o Pincheon one of his Maties Councill and Capt James fitch, Justice of ye Peace Now produced before this Board It appeares that some Indians were Inquireing after & Searching for an Indian Called Will who its said abt the beginning of this month Murthered an Indian Woeman att Albany & that he is now taken neere New Roxbury Its Ordered that the s^d Indian Will be forthwith Conveyed to Hartford & there Examined before some, one or more, of his Maties Justices of ye peace & if he shall appeare guilty of ye s^d Offence to be secured in ye County Goale till further Ord^r:

By Ord^r in Councill &c.

Att a Councill att the Councill Chamber on Thursday the 25th June 1688.²

Present: His Excellency Sr^t Edmond Andros Knt^t &c.

Upon hearing the Petition of Jonathan Tyng Esq^re of the Councill, setting forth that there is a Certaine Tract of vacant and unappropriated Land Lyeing att Weymesitt on the East side of Concord River Contain- ing two hundred and Twelve Acres and an other Tract on the West side of the said River Containeing Seventy acres both Lately Improved by the Indians who he hath satisfied to Leave the same Praying his Maties Grant for the said Land under such quitt-rent as his Excell^y shall think

¹ Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXVIII., p. 227.

² Taken from *Massachusetts Archives* vol. CXXIX., p. 22. Under the above, on the same pages is found the following: "In observance of ye abovesaid order we whose names are under written do testify, that the above said land hath bin (to our knowl- edg) Improved by the indians by planting upon it, above 34 yeares last past, and that we know not that any English ever had, or challenged any interest in said lands, & further we testify, that the indians whom ye said Jonathan Ting Esq^re hath satis- fied for said land are to our knowledg ye reputed owners of said land, and their fathers before them.

Witness our hands. July 3^d 1688.

The Hinchman
Jonathan Danforth, senr.

ftt. Itt is Referred to Majr Thomas Hinchman & Capt Jonathan Danforth to Exāme & make Report thereupon without Delay.

By order in Councill &c.

John West D. Secry

Att a Councill held att y^e Councill Chamber in Boston on thursday y^r 28th day of June 1688.¹

Present: His Excell^y Sr Edmond Andros Knt &c.

Joseph Dudley	Jn ^o Usher	Francis Nicholson
Wm Stoughton	Nath ^l Clarke	Rich ^d Smith
Waite Winthrop	Edward Randolph	Sam ^l Shrimpton Esq ^{rs}

Upon reading this day in Councill y^e Peticon of Philip Severett & his Maties ord^r in Councill bearing date y^e 27th of January past upon a Reporte made by y^e Right Honoble y^e Lords of y^e Comittee for trade & foreigne plantacons on y^e Peticon of s^d Philip Severett Mar & owner of y^e ship Johanna lately seized in New England Directing that y^e s^d ship be delivered to y^e Peticoner upon his giving security to abide by such orders as shall be made by his Matie or his Courts of Justice in New England relating to y^e s^d ship praying that some able p^{rs}ons be speedily appointed to appraise y^e s^d ship in ord^r to his giving security & being delivered accordingly *Ordered* that some able persons be forthwith appointed & authorized by his Excell^{ys} Warrant to value & appraise y^e s^d ship upon oath & on Returne thereof made & security given as afores^d the s^d ship be delivered to y^e s^d Philip Severett p^suant to his Maties s^d ord^{rs}

By ord^r in Councill &c.

Att a Councill held att the Councill Chamber in Boston on Thursday the 28th of June 1688.²

Present: His Excell^y Sr Edmund Andros Knt etc.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Francis Nicholson
Wm Stoughton	Nathan ^l Clarke	Richard Smith
Waite Winthrop	Edward Randolph	Sam ^l Shrimpton Esq ^{rs}

Upon further hearing of the Petition of Edward Randolph, Esqr praying his Majesties grant for a Certaine parcell or Tract of Vacant and unappropriated Land Containeing about seaven hundred Acres Lyeing betweene Spy Pond and Saunders Brooke neare Water towne in the County of Middlesex as alsoe a Certaine Writeing p^sented by Samuell Andrewes & others of Cambridge Termed the Reply of the proprietors of the Lands Lyeing betweene Saunders Brooke and Spy Pond to an Answer made to their Address But they declareing they had no Authority to speake in behalfe of others but onely for them selves and by Reason of the Generall Discription of the Land Petitioned for not knowing

¹ Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., pp. 1. The order of the Privy Council dated 27 January 1687[8]. Signed W^m Bridgeman is found *ibid.*, p. 4.

² Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., pp. 2, 3. Printed in *Edward Randolph*, Prince Society, vol. IV., p. 229.

whether the Lands Claymed by them be within the quantity desired or not, It is ordered that a Survey and Draft be forthwith made of the said Land and Returned in to the Secretaryes Office accordingly.

By order in Councill

John West. D. Secry.

[The oath of the Provost Marshall is given in full.]¹

. . . . The above Oath was approved in Councill ye 6th July 1688 & Administred to Sr W^m Phipps Provost Marshall Generall of this Dominion Appointed by his Maties Letters Patents.

Att a Councill held att ye Councill Chamber in Boston on Thursday ye 12th day of July 1688.²

Present: His Excelley Sr Edm^d Andros Kn^t &c.

Joseph Dudley	Jno Usher	Sam ^l Shrimpton
William Stoughton	Barth. Gidney	Rich ^d Smith
Robt Mason	Edw ^d Randolph	Esqr ^s
Walte Winthrop	Francis Nicholson	

Upon Reading this day in Councill ye Peticon of George Turfrey praying his Maties Grant of Six or Eight hundred acres of unimproved Land upon ye West side of Saco River att a place there called Salisbury Brooke with a p^{ce}ll of fresh Marsh & ye Desarts to w^{ch} one M^{rs} Phillips claymes a right. It is Referred to M^r Attourney Generall to Examine w^t right or title ye s^d M^{rs} Phillips hath or claymes to ye same & forthwith to make Reporte thereupon.

By order in Councill &c.

By his Excellency.³

A Proclamation for the Continueling all Officers in their Respective places.

Whereas his Majtie hath beene graciously pleased by his Letters Patents to Annex his province of New York and East & West Jerseys to his Territory & Dominion of New England and to Constitute and appoint me Capt^l Gen^l and Governour in Cheife of the same . . . the seventeenth day of Aprill last past I have therefore thought fitt and Doe hereby wth the advice of the Councill Continue & Confirm all Officers both Civill & Military till further Order Given att Boston the 19th Day of July in the 4th Yeare of his Majties Reigne Annoq Dom. 1688.

By his Excell^{ys} Comand

E. Andros

J. W. D. S.

God Save the King.

Oath of Deputy Secretary and Register.⁴

. . . . John West tooke ye above Oath in Councill ye 20th July 1688, upon ye Desire of ye s^d Edw^d Randolph.

Ed Randolph Secry

¹ Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., p. 30.

² Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., p. 47.

³ Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., p. 72.

⁴ Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., p. 90. Printed in *Edward Randolph*, Prince Society, vol. IV., p. 231.

Att a Councill held att New Yorke on Wednesday ye 29th day of Augt 1688.¹

p^rsent his Excell^y Sr Edmund Andros Kn^t &c.

Joseph Dudley	Jarvis Baxter	Jn ^o Young	
Robt Mason	Steph: Courtland	Nich ^o Bayard	
Anthon Brockholes	Jn ^o Usher	Rich ^d Smith	
Walter Clarke	Edw ^d Randolph	Jn ^o Allen	
Jn ^o Winthrop	Jn ^o Walley		Esq ^{rs}
ffred: Phillips	Walter Newbery		

Whereas ye Execu^{ti}on of An act made ye 7th day of May last past by his Excell^y thomas Dongan late Capt. Generall & Governour in Cheife of hs Maties Province of New Yorke in America Intituled an act for Raiseing ye Sum^e of £2555: 6^s by or before ye first day of November in ye yeare of our Lord 1688 hath been & is by Ord^r of his Excell^y in Councill dated ye 30th day of July last past for ye Reason therein men^toned Suspended till further Ord^r which being taken into Considera^{ti}on It is Ordered that ye s^d Act be fully & Duly Executed according to ye tenor & true Intent & meaneing thereof & ye mony therein men^toned duely Levyed Raised Collected & payd as therein is directed of w^{ch} all Justices of the peace & other Officers & persons Concerned are to take notice & Conforme themselves accordingly.

By order in Councill.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston on Wednesday the 27th day of March 1689.²

¹ Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., p. 162. Printed in *Edward Randolph*, Prince Society, vol. IV., pp. 233, 234. In *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, Vol. III., p. 447, are added "John West, D. Secy" and also "George Brewerton declareth upon oath y^e he being then Clerk of y^e Secretaryes Office at New York did write y^e foregoing order of y^e Governor & Councill w^{ch} was signed by John Witt, Deputy Secy Jacob Milborne Cl. Council."

The Act, engrossed in parchment, signed by Governor Thomas Dongan and the Council of New York, is at the State House in Boston.

Probably at this meeting or at a subsequent one in New York, the record of which has not been found, was passed "An Act requiring all Masters of Ships or Vessels to give security." See *Andros Tracts*, Prince Society, vol. I., p. 141. The Act is called also "An Act against Emigration." See *ibid.*, vol. III., p. 92. It was asserted that the Council at Boston opposed the passing this Act of restraint, but that it was finally passed in New York.

The cost of annexing "New Yorke and y^e Jersies" to the Dominion of New England was £180, 1. 5, and of annexing Connecticut £489, 11. 6. See *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CI. pp. 5, 12. See *ibid.*, p. 16, for "sundry disburseme^{nt} for Govr & Council to Pemaquid £31. 0. 7." From this last entry it is probable there was a Council meeting at Pemaquid, Maine, during the latter part of 1688, when hostilities against the Indians were being carried on.

² Taken from *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., p. 354. Printed in *Edward Randolph*, Prince Society, vol. IV., p. 263.

There is an allusion to a Council meeting on April 11th but no record of the meeting has been found. In *Massachusetts Archives*, vol. CXXIX., pp. 373, 374, there is an indorsement upon Governor Andros' order of the 13th of April, 1689, for an examination of the claims to land in Maine petitioned for by Joshua Downing of

Present: His Excellency Sir Edmund Andros Knt. &c.

Joseph Dudley	John Usher	Nathaniel Clarke
Wm Stoughton	Edward Randolph	Sam ^l Shrimpton
Wait Winthrop	John Palmer	

Ordered That the Treasurer do satisfy his Excell^y for his Salary out of his Maties Revenue till X^tmas last past.

A true Copy as appears in the Minutes of Council ¹

Exam^d pr Isa Addington Secry.

Kittery, as follows, "Memorand. in Councell 11th Aprill 1689." This is the only evidence, as yet found, of a meeting being held on that day.

There is also indorsed on the same order, "Petitions of y^e men of Braintry for grants of Land there."

The administration of Sir Edmund Andros was overthrown, as is well known, on the 18th of April by a sudden rising of the people.

¹ *Erratum.* In the Andros Records printed in the Proceedings for October 1899, p. 242, l. 37, the word "plans" should read "places."

ANDROS'S PROCLAMATION MONEY.

BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

ANY person who examines the contemporary literature which treats of questions connected with the currency in the days of the Province, will meet with the expressions "Proclamation Money" and "Lawful Money." The title of the first of these is based upon a proclamation issued by Queen Anne in 1704, fixing the values at which certain foreign coins should pass in the Plantations. By the terms of this proclamation, the Seville, Pillar and Mexican pieces of eight, if of seventeen and one-half pennyweight, were to pass for six shillings. The corresponding sterling value at that time for the piece of eight was four shillings and sixpence. The second title, "lawful money," was based upon a provincial statute originally passed in 1692, which was disallowed by the Privy Council at that time on account of the penalty attached to its infringement. In 1697, the statute was reënacted in such form that it met with approval, and was permitted to stand. By this act the coins above mentioned were made current at six shillings, if of full seventeen pennyweights. Notwithstanding this difference in the weight of the coin which was to pass at six shillings, the Lords of Trade wrote to Dudley in 1706, using the following language with reference to the proclamation:¹ "You are further to represent to the Assembly that there lies a particular obligation on them to enforce a due obedience to her Majesty's commands herein, for that the regulation of the rates at which

¹ Province Laws, I., 580.

foreign coins are to pass was calculated from a law of their own."

If the coin weighing seventeen and one-half penny-weights was worth six shillings, the ounce of silver was worth in money of this rating, or so-called proclamation money, six shillings, ten and two-sevenths pence. On the other hand, if it only weighed seventeen pennyweights, then the ounce of silver was worth in money based on the valuation of six shillings for the piece of eight of that weight, or lawful money, seven shillings and three farthings. Owing to the great number of light-weight coins in circulation, the real standard of merchants at this time was the ounce of coined silver, sterling alloy. The Spanish silver coinage, although not absolutely of sterling alloy, and although not free from changes of standard, was apparently accepted as equivalent to sterling. It will be seen that the difference between the values of the ounce of silver expressed in terms of proclamation or of lawful money was sufficient to be of importance in mercantile transactions of any size. Practically, we know that in Massachusetts, proclamation money was ignored, and lawful money was continuously maintained in the days of the Province as the underlying measure of value; yet it is obvious that the Lords of Trade did not regard this difference as sufficient to prevent the proclamation value assigned to the piece of eight from being accepted by the Province. The tenacity with which the Colonists adhered to their own measure of value in the face of the proclamation, emphasizes the point that there was a difference between the measure of value which was established by the proclamation and that to be derived from the Provincial Statute of 1697, and necessarily raises a doubt whether that statute was the one referred to by the Lords of Trade.

An examination of the Provincial legislation of that day fails to disclose any other law to which the Lords of Trade

could have referred in their letter to Dudley. Nevertheless, we should not be entirely free from doubt as to the "law of their own" which was referred to in that letter, if, in our attempts to settle this point, we were compelled to rely exclusively upon our own records. This lingering doubt arises from the following facts. It appears by the transcript from the records of the Andros Council which were transmitted to London, that on the 10th of March, 1686-87, an order was passed that the piece of eight of due weight should pass for six shillings. As if to complicate matters, the original minutes of this meeting in the custody of the American Antiquarian Society show that the piece of eight which was thus ordered to be received for six shillings was required to weigh seventeen and one-half pennyweights. The Lords of Trade, relying for information with regard to the action of the Andros Council, as they must have done, upon the copy of the record transmitted to London, could not have known that Andros had thus forestalled Sir Isaac Newton in fixing the weight of the piece of eight which should pass as six shillings, at seventeen and one-half pennyweights, and it is doubtful if they would, in a communication meant for the Assembly, have referred to an order passed by the Andros Council as a "law of their own"; yet, it is fortunate that we are able to remove even the slight cloud of doubt which the passage of this order casts upon the identification of the legislation referred to.

William Penn, in his correspondence, comes to our rescue in this regard, and says that the English standard would at this time have been adopted in the proclamation but for the fact that a law fixing the New England standard had already met with the approval of the Crown.¹ We are still left without knowledge of the date of that law, but even that is furnished us in an opinion of the

¹ *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*; Vol. IX. *The Penn and Logan Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 248, 296.

Attorney-General, May 31, 1703, to the effect that the Provincial Act of 1697—the one to which reference has already been made—having been approved by the Privy Council, had the force of an Act of Parliament.¹ It will thus be seen that the various steps taken by Andros in 1686 and 1687, which led up to the promulgation by him of a proclamation declaring that the piece of eight of seventeen and one-half pennyweights² should pass current at six shillings, had no bearing whatever upon the establishment of the value of proclamation money in 1704; still, these steps constitute an interesting episode in the story of the New England shilling, and it is to the details of that affair that I wish now to call your attention.

Shortly after the closure of the mint, proceedings were taken in England looking towards the reestablishment of that institution. On the 23rd of September, 1686, reasons why this should be done were submitted to the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations.³ This document was referred to the officials of the London Mint, and a reply on their part was filed on the 23rd of October.⁴ In this latter paper, the statement is made that "pieces of eight are but a commodity" in New England, and it is recommended that the people there be left to barter the one against the other as their interests guide them. On the 13th of October, in the interim between the date of the application or petition above referred to and the reply, a committee had already reported to the Privy Council against reestablishing the mint, and had recommended that power be given Sir Edmund Andros to regulate by proclamation the passage of pieces of eight and other foreign coins imported in New England.⁵ On the 27th of

¹ A History of the Currency of the British Colonies by Robert Chalmers, p. 14.

² I am assuming here that the proclamation followed the language of the Andros Records, although as is stated below, we have no copy of the proclamation.

³ "The Early Coins of America," by Sylvester S. Crosby, pp. 91-93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 94.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

the same month the Privy Council concluded that the Boston Mint should not be reëstablished, and passed an order to the effect that "Sir Edmund Andros be hereby authorized & empowered by Proclamation to regulate pieces of eight & other foreign coins within the said Territory of New England, to such current value as he shall judge most requisite for his Majesty's service and the trade of his subjects there." On the 31st of October, Sunderland officially communicated this decision of his Majesty in Privy Council to Sir Edmund in a letter in which instructions were given that "by Proclamation under our Seal for our Dominion in New England, You regulate the price of pieces of eight and other foreign coins imported thither, in such manner & to such a current value as you, with the advice of our Council shall find most requisite for our service & the trade of our Subjects there."¹

This letter was communicated to the New England Council by Sir Edmund Andros on the 22d of January, 1686-87,² and at the same time the answer of the Officers of the Mint to the paper entitled "Reasons for a Mint in New England" was also read. On the 28th the matter was brought up again in the Council, and in this connection there was some discussion as to whether it was in the power of the Council to prevent the shipping of coin to England and also as to what prejudice to the country such shipments actually occasioned.³ On the 23rd of February the letter relative to pieces of eight was again submitted to the Council, and at the same time a paper was presented

¹ "The Early Coins of America," by Sylvester S. Crosby, p. 95.

² Council Records, Vol. II., p. 110. Andros Records, in manuscript, in possession of the American Antiquarian Society, p. 19. My attention was called to the fact that these records contained information on these points through the notes to Mr. Toppan's Memoir of Edward Randolph. Publications of the Prince Society; Edward Randolph, with Historical Illustrations and Memoir by Robert Noxon Toppan Vol. I., pp. 18, 19 and notes.

³ Andros Records, pp. 21, 22.

by Mr. Wharton¹ for an accommodation of the country and supply of money to carry on trade, as the record reads.² There is a paper in the Massachusetts Archives, bearing no date but classified chronologically under 1671, which is endorsed "Mr. Wharton's paper about raising money."³ It contains among other things the following propositions: All outstanding debts to be discharged in specie at 6 s. 8 d. per ounce; after a given date New England coins to pass as follows: 1 s. at 14 d., 6 d. at 7 d., 3 d. at 4 d., and 2 d. at 3 d.; all Mexico, Pillar, Seville and other pieces of eight, bullion and plate of sterling alloy to pass current at 7 s. 6 d. per ounce. The paper contained many other suggestions and bears evidence of some care in its preparation, but has some amendments in a different handwriting from that in which the main part of the text is indited. It was obviously introduced as a basis for discussion. This point was gained and Randolph's record has preserved the substance of what was said. It was contended that unless the New England coins and pieces of eight were raised all money would leave the country. Sir Edmund was not influenced by this argument, but declared that he was opposed to setting any value upon the New England money other than its intrinsic value accounted as bullion. Two goldsmiths were called in as experts. They came to the Council Chamber and Mr. Wharton's paper was read to them. They asked for time for the preparation of their opinion, which was granted them, and then the discussion was renewed with vigor, many of the Council being of opinion that raising the value of money would make it plenty in the country and quicken trade. To this it was replied that such a course would tend to destroy commerce with the West Indies. Instead of sugar, molasses and rum, nothing but light pieces of eight would

¹ Probably Richard Wharton, one of the Councillors.

² Andros Records, p. 28.

³ Mr. Crosby gives this paper in full in "The Early Coins of New England," pp. 106, 107. It is to be found in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 100, No. 102.

be shipped from there. It was argued that raising the coinage would only help the merchants, as the country people would not raise prices on their goods, and this would result in positive injury to the country.

On the 25th of February the goldsmiths again attended the meeting of the Council and submitted their report upon Mr. Wharton's paper. They were of opinion that raising the value of pieces of eight would bring them into the country plentifully, but they thought it would at the same time occasion the shipment out of the country of the New England money. It is obvious from this that they conceived that the opposition of Sir Edmund Andros was fatal to that part of Wharton's project which involved the raising of the New England money. The specific question was put to them, What advantage would there be in raising pieces of eight to 7s. 6d.? and they answered that unless the New England money was correspondingly advanced, it would all leave the country. This day's conference was closed by the submission of a proposition that "all whole pieces of eight (Peru excepted) 15 pennyweight and upwards should pass current at 6s., all other bullion and plate of sterling alloy should pass current at six and eight-pence per ounce. All Peru pieces 15 pennyweight at 6s."¹

On the 10th of March, some of the chief merchants of Boston and Salem were summoned before the Council, in order that they might be consulted on the money question. They were present at the meeting of the Board and recommended that there be no change in the valuation of the New England money. They further recommended that

¹The account of these meetings at the meetings of January 20, February 25, and February 27 are taken from the Andros Records. The meeting at which the merchants were called in is recorded under date of March 5, Council Records, Vol. II., p. 114, and in the Andros Records under date of March 10. The Council Records represent that the merchants were called in to give their opinions in writing, and leave it to be inferred that the action taken was in accord with that opinion. The latter account in the Andros Records shows that this was not so.

Mexico, Seville and Pillar pieces of eight should pass by weight at 6 s. 10 d. per ounce Troy, and the fractional parts of the same, the quarters and reals, on the basis of a valuation of the piece of eight at 5 s. 4 d. Outstanding liabilities, they thought ought to be adjusted in current New England money, or in Mexico, Seville or Pillar pieces of eight, at 6 s. 10 d. per ounce Troy.

They were asked by Sir Edmund what was the standard weight of a good piece of eight? They replied, seventeen and a half pennyweights. This ended the conference. The merchants wanted New England money to stand unchanged and to continue the standard money of the country. Spanish money they wished to have pass by weight. This did not accord with the views expressed by Sir Edmund, who evidently wished to establish a value at which the piece of eight should circulate, and did not wish to recognize the New England coins. Randolph undertakes to record the impression made upon Andros by this discussion, but his haste prevented him from being intelligible. His words are, "His Exce found out the designs of the Merchants to [make?] mony¹ a Commodity and not to make it currant mony at a price." An order was then passed which as entered in the Council Records reads as follows: "That all pieces of eight, Civill, Piller and Mexico, at due weight shall pass in payment at six shillings per peece, that half peeces of Eight, Quarter peeces & Realls do pass pro rato," and in this form the certified copy of the records was forwarded to England. The Andros Records, however, define the piece of eight, which should pass for six shillings, "at 17½ dwt" and further add this clause "that the prent New Engl^d mony do passe for value as formerly."

On the 12th of March by beat of drum and sound of trumpet, near the Town House, Andros issued his procla-

¹ "Mony," in this connection, must mean the piece of eight. Andros evidently wished to get by the New England coinage, and substitute Spanish money, but he could not escape giving a rate in shillings, at which the piece of eight should pass.

mation that this order should be carried out. We have no means of knowing in which form the language of the proclamation was couched, but it is obvious that to make the order of any use it was necessary to specify the weight, while it is equally clear that the Privy Council must have relied upon the record of the Council transmitted to London, for knowledge upon such points. Hence there can be no reason for supposing that they knew that Andros had thus anticipated "Proclamation Money."

The foregoing paper was prepared before the Andros Records were printed, and the references therein are given to pages in the MSS. These records were transcribed by Mr. Robert Noxon Toppan, and are to be found in this volume of the Proceedings of this Society.—See pp. 237 and 463.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.







